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THE

ROMANCE OF THE PEERAGE.



H. K. Browne. R. Young.

MARY TUDOR.

THE FRENCH QUEEN.

LONDON: CHAPMAN & HALL, 186 STRAND.

THE

ROMANCE OF THE PEERAGE

OR

Curiosities of Family History.

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BY

GEORGE LILLIE CRAIK.

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PREFACE.

THE family history gone over in the present volume, which is still confined mainly to the age of Elizabeth and James, is most of it closely connected with the public history of that time. The four concluding narratives more especially, which involve the origin of the several claims to the crown or to the succession, illustrate what was, throughout the reign of Elizabeth, the most occupying topic of domestic politics. It could not be otherwise in a constitution based upon the principle of hereditary monarchy; the question, if perplexed by the same extraordinary circumstances, would be equally exciting in our own day. But the complication produced by the contradictory or uncertain state of the law on the one hand, and the multifarious marriages of Henry the Eighth's two sisters and their descendants on the other, to say nothing of his own unparalleled matrimonial career, makes such a case as probably never has been, nor ever will be, equalled. Others of the

narratives, again, may be regarded as supplementary to the common accounts of other memorable affairs of the time—the Gowrie Conspiracy, the Plots of the Main and the Bye, the Gunpowder Treason; where the mystery in which parts of the subject are wrapped, even when it is not much illuminated by such personal details, yet lends an additional interest to the investigation of the private history of those involved in them. Nor are the facts thus recovered without their value, sometimes, in filling up and as it were giving more roundness and completeness to the story, and also in enabling it to take hold of the imagination and the memory with more of a living grasp. Above all, these illustrations from the records of private life are what reveal to us most of the true spirit of society, and often even of government, in a past age.

The third and fourth volumes will, it is expected, complete the survey of the seventeenth century.

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The following are the Full Titles of the only Works and Editions, among those referred to in the present volume, which seem to be insufficiently described in the Foot-notes, and are not in the List prefixed to Volume First:—

Memoirs of his Life by Robert *Carey* Earl of Monmouth; and *Fragmenta Regalia* by Sir Robert *Naunton* (Edited by Sir Walter Scott). 8vo. Edin. 1808.

Raphael *Holinshed's* and William Harrison's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland. 3 vols. fol. Lon. 1587.

The Peerage of England, by Arthur *Collins*, Esq. Fifth Edition. 8 vols. 8vo. Lon. 1779.

Diary of Walter *Yonge*, Esq., from 1604 to 1628. Edited by George Roberts. Printed for the Camden Society. 4to. Lon. 1848.

Secret History of the *Court of James the First;* containing *Osborne's* Traditional Memoirs—Sir Anthony *Weldon's* Court and Character of King James—*Aulicus Coquinariæ*—Sir Edward *Peyton's* Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuart (Edited by Sir Walter Scott). 2 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1811.

The Peerage of Scotland, by Sir Robert *Douglas*, of Glenbervie, Bart. Revised and corrected by John Philip *Wood*, Esq. 2 vols. fol. Edin. 1813.

The History of the Kirk of Scotland, by Mr. David *Calderwood*. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Thomson. Printed for the Wodrow Society. 7 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1842-5.

Fragments of Scottish History; containing *Birrell's* Diary, &c. (Edited by J. G. Dalyell, Esq.). 4to. Edin. 1798.

Criminal Trials, by David *Jardine*, Esq. (Library of Entertaining Knowledge). 2 vols. 12mo. Lon. 1832-5.

Synopsis of the Peerage of England, by Nicholas Harris *Nicolas*, Esq. 2 vols. 12mo. Lon. 1825.

Britannia; Written in Latin by William *Camden;* Translated by Edmund Gibson, D.D. 2 vols. fol. Lon. 1722.

A Complete History of England; containing The History of King Henry VIII., by Edward Lord *Herbert* of Cherbury—The Life of King Edward VI., by Sir John *Hayward*—The History of Queen Elizabeth, by William *Camden*, Esq.—The History of King James I., by Arthur Wilson, Esq.; &c. (Edited by Dr. White *Kennet*). 3 vols. fol. Lon. 1706.

The Diary of Henry *Machyn*, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563. Edited by John Gough Nichols. Printed for the Camden Society. 4to. Lon. 1848.

The History of the Worthies of England, by Thomas *Fuller*, D.D. With Notes, &c., by P. Austin Nuttall, LL.D. 3 vols. 8vo. 1840.

Chronicles of Scotland, by Robert Lindsay of *Pitscottie*. Edited by J. G. Dalyell, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1814.

Annals, or General Chronicle of England, by John *Stow*. Continued by Edmund Howes. fol. Lon. 1631.

The History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary, by John *Pinkerton*. 2 vols. 4to. Lon. 1797.

State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph *Sadler*. Edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq., and Sir Walter Scott. 2 vols. 4to. Lon. 1809.—Or, Letters and Negotiations of Sir Ralph *Sadler*. 8vo. Edin. 1720.

The Historical Works of Sir James *Balfour*. 4 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1825.

A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, from the Death of James IV. to 1575. Edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq., for the Bannatyne Club. 4to. Edin. 1833.

Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. Collected chiefly from the Papers of Sir Ralph *Winwood*, Knt. By Edmund Sawyer, Esq. 3 vols. fol. Lon. 1725.

Lettres, Instructions, et Mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d' Ecosse. Par le Prince Alexandre *Labanoff*. 7 vols. 8vo. Lon. 1844.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOLUME I.

Page 5, line 10 from foot, *for* "But these two latter ladies both," *substitute* "But the former of these ladies and the descendants of the latter (she herself soon died)."

Page 47, line 15, *for* "grandfather," *read* "father."

Page 80, line 2, *for* "in part," *read* "in fact."

Page 81, line 9 from foot, *for* "upon," *read* "after."

Page 87, line 4, *for* "now," *read* "new."

Page 90, Note.—I have ascertained that it was in January 158$\frac{2}{3}$, that is, in what we now call January 1583, that Sidney was knighted.

Page 167, line 6 from foot. "Tilt End" here is probably a misreading of Collins for "Tilt Yard."

Page 177, line 13, *after* "the 6th," *insert* "of October."

Page 199, line 9, *after* "discourses," *insert* "(with one remarkable exception to be afterwards noticed)."

Page 240, line 9 from foot, insert the marks of quotation (") at the end of the sentence.

Page 248, line 13, *for* "Bar[?]," *read* "Bar[tholomew]."

Page 310, line 4, *et seq.* I have since found a notice of the death of Lady Rich in the Latin History of Robert Johnstone (*Historia Rerum Britannicarum, ab an.* 1572 *ad an.* 1628; *Auctore Roberto Johnstono. Fol. Anstel.* 1655), p. 420. After telling us that Devonshire, stung by the reproaches of the King, breathed his last in the arms of Lady Rich, and in the midst of her adoration, tears, and kisses (*in complexu charissimæ fœminæ, cum laudibus et lachrymis, os manusque ejus exosculantis*), this contemporary writer adds,—*Illa, dolore luctuque confecta*, &c.—that is, "She, worn out with grief and lamentation, did not long survive him; but, laden with the robes and decorations of mourning (*pannis pullis vittisque obsita*), lay night and day stretched on the floor in a corner of her bed-chamber. Happy pair, had but a legal union sanctified their glowing and constant love!" Johnstone intimates that the

patience of Lord Rich as a husband was more wondered at than admired; and that his strange conduct in retaining his wife, after being perfectly aware of her connection with Devonshire, was thought anything but prudent. Her marrying his rival, however, seems to have a little excited him. On the 7th of March, 1606, Sir Edward Hoby writes to Sir Thomas Edmondes:—"About the same time [the latter part of the preceding month] grew a difference between two lords of the Upper House, who by chance met together in the King's little chamber there, namely, Devon and Rich. Foul words passed, and the lie, as I am informed, given to Devon. The event is in expectation."

Page 337, line 7 from foot, *omit* what follows "mothers," to the end of the sentence. Gervas Clifton, who inherited a baronetcy to which his father was raised in 1611, had no issue.

Page 341, line 13, *for* "Tilt End," *read* "Tilt Yard." See correction of page 167.

Page 404, line 6, *for* "most," *read* "inquest."

VOLUME II.

Page 68, line 14, *for* "as such belongs," *read* "such as belongs."

Page 157, line 2, *for the sentence beginning* "Their posterity," *substitute* "Their posterity still subsists; the baronetcy expired with the late Sir Thomas Stepney, of Prendergast, in Pembrokeshire, who died in 1825;* but two sisters of Sir Thomas have both left descendants to continue the line of Vandyck and Maria Ruthven, and the representation of the old Earls of Gowrie."

Page 233, line 3 from foot in Note, *for* "aunt," *read* "sister-in-law."

ROMANCE OF THE PEERAGE.

THE KINDRED OF QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN.

A CHIEF attraction which the imagination finds in Family History (and indeed this is part of the secret charm of all history) is the semblance of continuity and long duration with which it endows our fleeting life. We cling, amid universal mutability, to every shape or show of permanence. The ancient families of a land, like its everlasting hills, help to sustain the idea of stability in the ceaseless flow of all things. They keep the mighty Past still present with us. They are fires kindled in its dark firmament, giving us to look into its depths along lines of light.

A different, it might almost be said an opposite, kind of interest is awakened by the meteoric greatness of other families, which have merely flashed across a certain period of our national history. Their brief conspicuousness brings forcibly home to us the faithlessness of all mortal fortune. Some instances of this kind may most fitly be compared to pyrotechnic displays, both

for the suddenness with which the shower of splendour that has for a short space illumined the heavens will oftentimes vanish at the brightest, and for the artificial means by which it was at first forced into existence. Thus, Henry the Eighth's passion for Anne Boleyn produced, in one way and another, a profusion of hereditary honours and dignities, all intended to last for ever; yet one after another, with scarcely an exception, time has blotted them all out; and it is very remarkable how rapidly, for the most part, they became extinct.

To begin with the royalty of Anne's descendants. It ended with her daughter; after Elizabeth dropped her sceptre, the Boleyn blood flowed no longer in royal veins. Anne herself was before her marriage created Marchioness of Pembroke; her peerage, of course, expired with her attainder, if indeed it had not previously merged, on her marriage, in the Crown. Her father was made first an English Viscount, and then both an English and an Irish Earl: the English titles became extinct at his death, within two years after that of his daughter, whose destruction had also involved that of his only son. The Irish Earldom of Ormond, which was made descendible to his heirs general, is commonly supposed to have, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, become vested in the representative of his daughter Mary, who was then George, afterwards thirteenth Baron Berkeley, the ancestor of the present Earl of Berkeley; but the case of this dignity is very peculiar, and it may be questioned, both whether the Crown ever had really any right to bestow it upon

Boleyn, and whether that exercise of the prerogative in his favour was not afterwards revoked and rendered null and void by a solemn act of the legislature. Henry Carey, the son of Anne Boleyn's elder sister Mary, was made Baron Hunsdon by Elizabeth immediately after her accession; his fourth son, Robert, was made Baron Carey in 1622, and Earl of Monmouth in 1626; nearly at the same dates Henry, fourth Baron Hunsdon, was made Viscount Rochfort and Earl of Dover; the Carey and Monmouth titles expired in 1661, those of Rochfort and Dover in 1677, and at last that of Hunsdon, on the death of the eighth Lord, in 1765. The existing Barony of Hunsdon is a new dignity, conferred a few years ago upon the present Viscount Falkland (of the Scottish Peerage), whose ancestor, the first Viscount, was only a distant relation of the William Carey who married Mary Boleyn. We have already seen how the other titles of Essex, Knollys, Wallingford, Banbury, Warwick, Holland, Montjoy (of Thurveston), and Newport, bestowed upon the descendants of this Mary Boleyn, were all, after blazing for a time,—in most cases for only a generation or two,—swallowed up in night.

Yet one at least of the principal roots from which so many ennobled branches sprung would seem to have been as little deficient in vitality as in productiveness. The Knollyses of the original stock, the brood of Catharine Carey and old Sir Francis, evinced in several instances an extraordinary tenacity of life. The Earl of Banbury, we have seen, lived to be eighty-six, the Countess of Leicester to be ninety-four or five; but a

younger brother survived her many years, and attained a still greater age. Sir Francis Knollys, who was the fifth son of the cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and was born in 1549, actually sat as a member both of the short parliament of April 1640, and of the memorable Long Parliament which assembled in November following; nay, he lived on, this contemporary of the Reformation, all through the Grand Rebellion, with the exception of the consummating act, the execution of the King, not quitting the stage till he had all but completed his century. He is stated to have died in 1648. There are notices of him in the Journals down to nearly the end of the year 1646, at which date he still retained his seat as one of the members for Reading, though we can hardly suppose him to have continued his attendance in the House.

The families of Boleyn and Knollys, which came together in the marriage of Sir Francis Knollys and Catharine Carey, were almost equally remarkable for the contrast between the elevation to which for a time they attained and their previous condition. The immediate ancestors of Queen Elizabeth, by the mother's side, were citizens and merchants of London. Bishop Goodman speaks of having seen their tomb in the old Church of St. Lawrence Jewry, in Cateaton Street.* It is described by Stowe as "a gravestone on the ground, well placed," and as bearing two epitaphs in Latin, the first of which recorded the death, in 1483, of Geffrey Boleyn, Citizen and Mercer; and had the words *Now Thus* thirty-two times dispersed in brass all

* *Memoirs*, 297.

round it.* An importunate proclamation, it may be thought, of the resolution into dust of the worthy mercer; but this was the grandfather of Thomas Boleyn, who was the father of Mary and Anne Boleyn, and whom Henry the Eighth made Viscount Rochfort and Earl of Wiltshire. The Boleyns, however, were of an aspiring genius, and had been accustomed to seek the improvement of their fortunes and position by marriage long before the hapless daughter of their house made her bold experiment in that way. The mercer, whom Dugdale calls Sir Geffrey, (although there is no mention of his knighthood in Stowe's transcript of his epitaph,) and who was Lord Mayor in 1458, (exactly a century before his great-great-granddaughter mounted the throne,) married a daughter of Lord Hoo and Hastings; his son, Sir William, a daughter of the Earl of Ormond; and the mother of Anne Boleyn was a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk.

Of the Knollyses, again, the history is so obscure, down to Sir Francis, that the name of his father is almost all that is known of it. Dugdale and others, it is true, derive Sir Francis from the great military commander of the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second, Sir Robert Knollys, the conquering companion of the Black Prince in France and Spain; but of such descent there is no evidence whatever; and even the professional genealogists, though seldom at fault in similar cases, do not pretend to supply the links of it. All that they have to tell us is, that Robert Knollys, the father of Sir Francis, being then one of

* *Survey* (*Edit. of* 1633), 285.

the Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber to Henry the Eighth, had, in 1518, "a lease for certain years from the King, to himself and Lettice, his wife, of the manor of Rotherfield Greys (commonly called Greys)," in the county of Oxford.* An ingenious inquirer has lately pointed out an entry in Rymer, of Letters of Protection, granted five years before this, to a Robert Knollys, when about to proceed to the Continent, in attendance upon the King in his wars, as one of the company of Richard Tempest, Squire of the Body to his Majesty; and therein he is styled Robert Knollys, lately of Wakefield, in the Shire of York, *Dyer*, otherwise Robert Knollys, *Yeoman*.† Putting all things together, we certainly cannot be without a shrewd suspicion that this Yorkshire dyer or yeoman was the father of him who married Queen Elizabeth's first cousin, the grandfather of the Countess of Leicester and the Earl of Banbury, and the true root of the Knollys tree, with all its lofty and far-spreading branches.‡

One can see, such being the case, how natural it was that Sir Francis's predilections should run so strongly in favour of the new order of things. The establishment of the reformed religious system had proved at least a blessed reformation for him and his. No wonder he turned away with something even of passionate aversion and contempt from the kind of world that had existed antecedently to that great change. Anne and Mary Boleyn together, what with the gospel

* *Dugdale*, III. 412. † *Foedera*, XIII. 372.

‡ See *Gent. Mag.* for *March*, 1846.

light, what with the light of whatever other kind, that beamed from their eyes, had turned night into day for the race of Knollys. Formerly they had been yeomen and dyers, tillers of the ground, hewers of wood, drawers of water; now they were Knights of the Garter, lords and ladies, earls and countesses.

Yet the foundation of the fortunes of the Knollys family, as well as of that of the Boleyns, had been laid before the Reformation; and in part, perhaps, by the same process by which the superstructure was afterwards raised and crowned,—a judicious or lucky marriage. We have seen that the grant of Rotherfield Greys was expressly to the wife of Robert Knollys as well as to himself. This would look as if it had been principally through her or her connexions that it was procured. If Knollys's original condition was such as has been supposed, she was much his superior in birth. Her father was a Sir Thomas de Penyston, the lord of more than one manor in Bucks, and the descendant of an old and eminent Cornwall family. This lady, at any rate, brought into the Knollys family the christian name of Lettice, inherited by her granddaughter and others of her posterity, if nothing more substantial.

Robert Knollys died in 1521, probably while still in the prime of life. His widow was afterwards twice remarried, both times to persons of distinction. Two sons, of whom Francis was the elder, must have been mere children when they lost their father. A comparison of dates also brings out what is not a wholly unimportant fact, that the marriage of Francis Knollys

with Catharine Carey can scarcely have taken place till some years after the divorce and death of Anne Boleyn; for Catharine cannot have been then, in 1536, at most much more than fourteen, seeing that her father and mother were only married in 1521. If her aunt had continued to share the throne, she would have looked, we may suppose, for a higher match than the young Lord of Rotherfield Greys. It is probable that they were married in 1538 or 1539, when he might be nineteen or twenty, and she perhaps two or three years younger. Knollys had therefore to wait for nearly twenty years before he began to reap the fruits of his fortunate alliance, and found the wife, who had dropped into his arms in falling from her position of niece to the Queen Consort, suddenly raised by a strange revolution to be first cousin to the Queen Regnant.

Lady Knollys would have the more influence with her royal cousin as being her senior by some ten or eleven years. We have a notice of her death, and of Elizabeth's feelings upon the occasion, in a letter from Nicholas White to Cecil, dated from Chester the 26th of February 1569, in which he gives a curious account of an interview he had had a day or two before with Mary Stuart at Tutbury, whither she had been recently removed from Bolton. Mary being informed by her keeper, Lord Shrewsbury, that "a servant of the Queen's Majesty's of some credit" (White, who thus describes himself, was now on his way to Ireland, of which kingdom he was one of the Council, and where he was soon after appointed Master of the Rolls) was come

to the house, intimated a wish to have some conversation with him, and, thereupon, having come forth of her privy chamber into the presence-chamber where he was, in very courteous manner bade him welcome, and asked of him how her good sister did. "I told her Grace," says White, "that the Queen's Majesty, God be praised, did very well, saving that all her felicities gave place to some natural passions of grief, which she conceived for the death of her kinswoman and good servant, the Lady Knollys; and how by that occasion her Highness fell for a while from a prince wanting nothing in this world, to private mourning, in which solitary estate, being forgetful of her own health, she took cold, wherewith she was much troubled, and whereof she was well delivered." * Lady Knollys had died on the 15th of January.†

At this time Sir Francis was absent in the North of England, he and Lord Scrope having been dispatched to Carlisle to look after Mary Stuart as soon as the news of her arrival in England reached the Court in May of the preceding year. Much of his character comes out in his letters, written while on this mission.‡ That he did not want insight, nor a feeling of other high things besides religion, his famous report to Cecil of the sort of person he found Mary to be may sufficiently testify:— "And yet this lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledging of her estate regal. She sheweth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant,

* *Haynes*, 509. † *See Vol.* I. *p.* 8.

‡ See them in *Haynes, Goodall, Robertson, Chalmers, Ellis, Wright, &c.*

and to be very familiar. She sheweth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she sheweth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory; she delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, commending by name all approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies; and she commendeth no cowardness even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminish either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse, or by division and quarrels raised amongst themselves; so that, for victory's sake, pain and perils seemeth pleasant unto her, and, in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptuous and vile. Now what is to be done with such a lady and princess, or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom, or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment." *

Knollys affected the plainest speaking and the plainest

* *Wright*, I. 281. See also his warm commendation, in a subsequent letter, of Mary's "ready wit and constant courage in all seasons," and of the unflagging spirit with which she kept up the hopes of her friends in the gloomiest circumstances.—*Wright*, I. 293. "We found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue and a discreet head, and it seemeth by her doings she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereto," he and Scrope wrote to Elizabeth after their first interview with Mary at Carlisle.—*Wright*, I. 277. With these passages the reader may compare White's report, in which, after detailing many curious particulars, he thus concludes:—"If I might give advice, there should very few subjects in this land have access to or conference with this lady. For, beside that she is a goodly personage (and yet in truth not comparable to our sovereign), she hath withal an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish speech, and a searching wit clouded with mildness."—*Haynes*, 511.

dealing with everybody. Some of his speeches to Mary were worthy of Knox. One day when she was inveighing to him against the way in which she had been treated by her Scottish subjects, he cut her short with a very unadorned statement of the case:—"The question is," said he, "whether your Grace deserved to be put from the government or not; for, if your Grace should be guilty of any such odious crime as deserveth deposal, then how should they be blamed that have deposed you?" * He was fond of professing himself to be no politician, to have neither taste nor talent for the mysteries and obliquities of statesmanship. "But I speak," he writes to Cecil upon one occasion, "like a blind buzzard, and therefore will leave these matters to you that have judgment." † Again, in another letter from Bolton, after half in jest, half in earnest, praying the Secretary to consider that his coldness, or caution, in backing Scrope and him in their difficult enterprise deserved no praise at all, he adds, "But, although a fool's bolt be soon shot, yet I dare not tell you all that I think herein;" and then he requests that he may be recalled forthwith, so that he may either serve as a cypher at the court, that is, may merely occupy a place there, or may be dismissed to the cart, "which," says he, "is fitter for me." ‡ And there is more elsewhere of the same kind of somewhat ostentatious self-disparagement.

Even to Elizabeth he was in the habit of expressing himself with great frankness; and it is to the credit of both parties that he appears notwithstanding to have

* *Ellis*, 1*st Series*, II. 243. † *Wright*, I. 283. ‡ *Ibid.* 291.

lived with her generally on the best terms, both before and after the death of his wife. There were times, however, it would appear, when she would rather he would have let her alone. "I do know," he writes to Secretary Wilson, from Greys, in January 1578, "that her Majesty is loth to hear me; and indeed my speech hath no grace worthy of her Majesty's ears; God hath denied it me, and therefore I am the more silent, although when I may be heard, as my gross memory doth serve me, rather than my silence should be guilty of her danger, I do utter my unworthy speech unto her Majesty." And then he goes on:—"I do know that it is fit for all men to give place to her Majesty's will and pleasure, and to her affections, in all matters that touch not the danger of her estate; but I do know also that, if her Majesty do not suppress and subject her own will and her own affections unto sound advice of open council, in matters touching the preventing of her danger, that her Majesty will be utterly overthrown."* Ten years earlier, while engaged with the affair of Mary Stuart, we have him addressing Elizabeth herself in no less pithy language: — "Now, as your Majesty's judgment must needs be ruled by such affections and passions of your mind as happen to have dominion over you, so yet the resolutions digested by the deliberate consultations of your most faithful councillors ought ever to be held in most price in these so weighty affairs."† All this procured him, no doubt, a high reputation for honesty.

But with all his honesty and all his religion, he was

* *Wright*, II. 75. † *Haynes*, 499.

not without worldly ambition, or at least what looks very like it, any more than his neighbours. From the moment that his wife's cousin became Queen of England, Sir Francis appears to have set up as a sort of King of Oxfordshire. His pretensions to this dignity, however, encountered a formidable resistance. The Knollyses had a rival power in the Norrises. "No county in England," says Fuller, "can present such a brace of families contemporaries, with such a bunch of brethren on either for eminent achievements. So great their states and stomachs, that they often justled together; and no wonder if Oxfordshire wanted room for them, when all England could not hold them together." * Sir Henry Norris was the son and heir of that Henry Norris, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry the Eighth, who had suffered in the affair of poor Anne Boleyn; he had besides married Marjory, daughter and heir of Sir John Williams, afterwards Lord Williams of Thame, the gentle and indulgent jailor of Elizabeth at Woodstock, in the time of her sister. Elizabeth made him a peer, by the title of Baron Norris, in 1572. The "bunch of brethren" was numerically the same on both stocks; Lord Norris and Sir Francis Knollys had each six sons who grew up to manhood. But the one fruit did not at all resemble the other. "The Norrises," the witty historian of our Worthies goes on, in his quaint, but yet penetrating, graphic, and hearty way, "were all *Martis pulli*,—men of the sword—and never out of military employment. The Knollyses were rather valiant men

* *Worthies, Oxfordshire.*

than any great soldiers, as little experienced in war. Queen Elizabeth loved the Knollyses for themselves; the Norrises for themselves and herself, being sensible that she needed such martial men for her service. The Norrises got more honour abroad; the Knollyses more profit at home, conversing constantly at court; and no wonder if they were the warmest who sat next to the fire." It was another sort of fire that the Norrises were foremost in approaching, and they placed themselves near it not sitting but standing. All Sir Francis's six sons, except only one, the eldest, survived their father; all the Norrises, slain in battle, predeceased both their parents, the youngest of the six alone excepted.

In Fuller's time, the rivalry of the Knollyses and the Norrises was become a tradition; Sir Robert Naunton may have actually seen something of it. He observes, that, whether it was emulation or distrust that set them against each other, had it not been that the fortune of their employments kept the Knollyses about the court and the Norrises in the camp, they would probably have come to open contention, "or at least, they would have wrestled one in the other like trees encircled with ivy." He speaks of one occasion on which, both fraternities having met at court, "there passed a challenge between them at certain exercises, the Queen and the old men [Fuller, in repeating the anecdote, has "their aged fathers"] being spectators;" "and I am persuaded," says Naunton, "though I ought not to judge, that there were some relics of this feud that were long after the causes of the one family's almost utter extir-

pation, and of the other's improsperity." It was the Norrises that were almost extirpated; the first Lord was succeeded in 1600 by his grandson, who, having in 1620 been made Earl of Berkshire, died the same year, leaving only a daughter, through whom the Barony (which was created by writ and is therefore inheritable in the female as well as in the male line) has passed to her descendant, the present Earl of Abingdon. So long, Naunton goes on to observe, as Leicester lived, who, after his marriage with the eldest daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, was the main pillar of that family, none of the Norrises "took any deep rooting in the court, though otherwise they made their ways to honour by their swords." Nor did Leicester, he adds, when he went to the Netherlands, though no soldier himself, make any account of Sir John Norris (Lord Norris's second son), though one of the most famous soldiers of the time. Even Essex, after Leicester's death, though he had been instructed in arms by this General Norris (in what was called the Journey of Portugal), "whether out of instigation, as it has been thought," continues Naunton, "or out of ambition, and jealousy to be eclipsed and overshadowed by the fame and splendour of this great commander, loved him not in sincerity. Moreover, certain it is, he not only crushed, and upon all occasions quelled the growth of this brave man and his famous brethren, but therewith drew on his own fatal end, by undertaking the Irish action in a time when he left the court empty of friends and full fraught with his professed enemies." Norris, who had been sent to Ireland in 1596, with the title of Lord

General, was recalled in disgrace through the influence of Essex in the following year; and this usage is supposed to have broken his heart. Fuller thus winds up his account of the two families:—"Though at first they may be said to have fenced with rebated rapiers and swords buttoned up, in merriment, only to try their skill and strength, they soon fell to it at sharps indeed, seeking for many years to supplant one another; such the heart-smoking and the heart-burning betwixt them. And, although their inclination kept them asunder, the one brotherhood coming seldom to court, the other seldomer to camp, the Knollyses are suspected to have done the Norrises bad offices, which at last did tend to their mutual hurt."

We find one or more of the Knollyses in the House of Commons from the first Parliament of Elizabeth, which met in January 1559, and in which Sir Francis represented the borough of Arundel. Afterwards he sits for the county of Oxford, sometimes with one of his sons, less frequently with one of the Norrises; another Knollys generally being returned as one of the representatives for the city. After his death one or two of his sons always come in either for Oxfordshire or Berkshire.

It fell out singularly enough that these Knollyses should match with the Devereuxes,—the longest-lived with the shortest-lived family in the land. What the result might have been, if the case had been left in the hands of nature, we have scarcely the means of guessing. Of the two sons of the first Earl of Essex who grew up to manhood neither was permitted to live out the

natural measure of his days; if his eldest daughter attained only the age of perhaps five-and-forty, she may almost be said to have been slain by sorrow as truly as her brothers by the bullet and the axe; nor, it may be, was the same poison, though of somewhat slower operation, wanting to shorten the days of her younger sister. Her story falls next to be sketched.

THE LADY DOROTHY DEVEREUX.

A LETTER of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, the royal favourite, which has been lately published by Mr. Brewer, along with Bishop Goodman's *Memoirs*, is very remarkable on several accounts. It is addressed to Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward) Dyer, the intimate friend of Sidney and Spenser, as well as of Essex. After expressing his anxiety to have a conference with Dyer on the subject about which he writes, and stating that he had been that morning to seek him at Winchester House (the old palace of the Bishops of Winchester in Southwark), the Earl proceeds:—"Things are fallen out very strangely against me since my last being with you. Yesternight the Queen came to North-hall [the house of the Earl of Warwick in Hertfordshire], where my Lady of Warwick would needs have my sister to be; which, though I knew not at the first, yet, to prevent the worst, I made my Aunt Leighton* signify so much unto the Queen before her coming from Theobald's, that at her coming to North-hall the matter might not seem strange unto her. She seemed to be well pleased and well contented with it, and promised to use her well. Yesternight, after she was come, and knew my sister was in the house, she commanded my Lady of Warwick that my sister should keep her

* See *Vol.* I. *p.* 166.

chamber. Whereupon, being greatly troubled in myself, I watched when the Queen had supped, to have some speech with her; which I had at large, yet still she giving occasion thereof. Her excuse was, first, she knew not of my sister's coming; and, besides, the jealousy that the world would conceive, that all her kindness to my sister was done for love of myself. Such bad excuses gave me a theme large enough, both for answer of them, and to tell her what the true causes were why she would offer this disgrace both to me and to my sister, which was only to please that knave Raleigh, for whose sake I saw she would both grieve me and my love, and disgrace me in the eye of the world." Her Majesty would not have Raleigh spoken ill of; but this only the more exasperated Essex, and he gave unbounded loose to his rage and hatred. To make the scene the more dramatic, Raleigh, in the exercise of his office of captain of the guard, was posted at the door of the apartment. "I spoke," says Essex, "what of grief and choler, as much against him as I could; and I think he, standing at the door, might very well hear the worst that I spoke of himself." The tone in which the strange altercation was carried on, we may well believe, would be sharp and high enough on both sides. "In the end," the letter goes on, "I saw she was resolved to defend him and to cross me. From thence she came to speak bitterly against my mother, which, because I could not endure to see me and my house disgraced (the only matter which both her choler and the practice of my enemies had to work upon), I told her, for my sister, she should not any

longer disquiet her; I would, though it were almost midnight, send her away that night; and, for myself, I had no joy to be in any place, but loth to be near about her, when I knew my affection so much thrown down, and such a wretch as Raleigh highly esteemed of her. To this she made no answer, but turned her away to my Lady of Warwick. So, at that late hour, I sent my man away with my sister, and after I came hither myself."*

The only date to the letter is the 21st of July, but the year is determined by a passage which occurs in the latter part of it:—"I will be this night at Margate, and, if I can, I will ship myself for Flushing. I will see Sluys lost or relieved, which cannot be yet, but is now ready to be done. If I return, I will be welcomed home; if not, *una bella morte* is better than a disquiet life." The town of Sluys, in Holland, surrendered to the Prince of Parma on the 9th of August, (or the 30th of July, according to what was then the English mode of reckoning,) 1587.† Essex, who was not yet twenty, while Elizabeth was within a few weeks of fifty-four, actually set out as he told Dyer he would do. "The beginning of the spring after Sluys was besieged, and my Lord of Essex stole from court with intent to get into Sluys if he could," writes Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, "the Queen sent me after him, commanding me to use the best means, if I could find him, to persuade him to return to court. I made no long stay, but with all the speed I could went after him. I found him at Sandwich, and with much ado I got him to

* *Brewer*, 1—4. † *Strada, Dec.* II. 382.

return."* Carey, as soon as he had got Essex fairly on the road back to London, took the opportunity of making his own escape to the seat of war, but on reaching Ostend he found that Sluys had surrendered that same morning.

The sister to whom this letter relates I should conceive to be Essex's younger sister Dorothy. It does not appear in what way Lady Rich can have incurred her Majesty's displeasure at this date. But Lady Dorothy had given great offence by an affair in which she acted a principal part a few years before.

The story is told by Strype in his *Life of Bishop Aylmer*. It appears that in July 1583, Lady Dorothy was living in the house of Sir Henry Cock at Broxburn, in Hertfordshire. She was, I suppose, on a visit. One morning in that month and year two persons called at the parsonage of Broxburn, one of whom, having informed the Vicar that he was a Bachelor of Divinity, and had been long in holy orders, demanded the key of the church door, declaring that he had a commission to take certain examinations on oath within the sacred edifice, for which purpose he should also require a copy of the Communion Book. The Vicar, whose name was Green, replied that the book was locked up in the Vestry, where he could not get at it; but offered the stranger a Latin Testament instead. That, however, the other said, would not serve his turn. The three seem to have then proceeded to the church together. There they found the door open, and a lady and gentleman in the act of entering. The lady was Lady

* *Memoirs*, 8.

Dorothy Devereux; the gentleman turned out to be Sir Thomas Perrot (or Parrot, as Strype writes the name). The frightened Vicar tried to shut the door, but Sir Thomas pushed him aside; and, the party having made their way in, the strange minister, as he called himself, commenced the marriage ceremony. He was really a clergyman; his name, it is stated, was Lewis. He would listen neither to Green's persuasions and entreaties to desist, nor to an injunction which the latter attempted to read to him, prohibiting marriages by licence except at the usual times for public prayer, and by the ordinary officiating clergyman of the church or chapel. His licence, he maintained, gave him sufficient authority; but even that poor Green was not suffered to examine; before he had read it half through the impatient bridegroom snatched it out of his hands. It seems, nevertheless, to have been a regular licence. As the simplest way of settling the dispute, Green was asked to read the service himself, and he was offered a rial if he would do so; but he withstood the temptation, on which Sir Thomas ordered Lewis to proceed. "But the Vicar," continues the narrative, "when the other began to read, resisted him and shut the book. Whereupon Sir Thomas thrust him away, and told him he had nothing to do therewith, and that he should answer it for resisting my Lord Bishop's authority. And one Godolphin, one of Sir Thomas's party, took him up, and told him he showed himself malicious. Whereupon, after once more forbidding him, he held his peace." A further attempt to stop proceedings was made by Edmund Lucy, Esq., "one that lived in Sir Henry

Cock's family together with the Lady Dorothy." Lucy, coming into the church, ran up to Lewis and snatched the book out of his hands; but the latter frightened him with the threat of a *præmunire* for resisting the Bishop's authority; "and so he went forward with his office, without the surplice, in his cloak, with his riding boots and spurs, and dispatched it hastily." *

Strype goes on to relate that the news soon reached the Court, where, the lady being a daughter of one of the ancient nobility, "though she herself was in the plot," what had been done gave great offence; and Sir Henry Cock, being a Justice of the Peace, was commanded to take the examination of the matter, and send it up. The affair gave occasion to a charge being made against Aylmer of granting marriage licences negligently, or without due inquiry respecting the consent of the parents, guardians, and friends of the parties; he was sent for to answer the complaint before the council; and certain regulations were made, which, probably, however, soon came to be disregarded, with a view "to prevent such unfortunate accidents for the future." †

The Lady Dorothy Devereux, when she precipitated herself into this love-match with Sir Thomas Perrot, cannot well be supposed to have been under seventeen or eighteen. Strype, no doubt transcribing, as is his wont, the language of some contemporary document, speaks of the marriage as having been an unequal and unhappy one for a daughter of the Earl of Essex.

* *Life of Aylmer* (*Appendix* VIII.) pp. 217—219. (Edit. of 1821).
† *Ibid.*, pp. 130—132.

What is meant is probably no more than that the gentleman was the lady's inferior in rank. Yet, except that he was not ennobled, the father of Sir Thomas Perrot was one of the most distinguished persons of that age—eminent not only for his personal qualities and exploits, and for his extensive possessions, in which he rivalled the highest of the nobility, but also for the *quæ non fecimus ipsi* of descent and birth, then looked upon with so much veneration—although with regard to the latter, indeed, he might have repeated the poet's *vix ea nostra voco* in a peculiar sense. For his true origin, if the secret history of the time is to be believed, was more illustrious than decorous. Some of our readers may remember the Sir Satyrane of the *Fairy Queen*, the somewhat unpolished but worthy and honest deliverer of Una from the Satyr in the First Book, and the hero of other characteristic adventures in subsequent parts of the poem. This Sir Satyrane is understood to shadow forth Sir John Perrot. His mother, we are told, was

> "Fair Thyamis, the daughter of Labryde,
> That was in sacred bands of wedlock tied
> To Therion, a loose unruly swain,
> Who had more joy to range the forest wide,
> And chase the salvage beast with busy pain,
> Than serve his lady's love;"

but his father was a Satyr, who chanced to find Therion's neglected wife one day wandering in the wood, seeking her spouse, "that from her still does fly," and, keeping her in his secret cabin till she was delivered of the boy, then suffered her to return home

on her consenting to leave the child to be brought up by his "salvage sire." By the "salvage sire" is meant no less a personage than King Henry the Eighth, who was believed to be Perrot's real father. Fair Thyamis, his mother, was Mary, daughter and heiress of James Berkeley, Esq., second son of Maurice Lord Berkeley; the contemporary author of a *Life of Sir John Perrot*, an elaborate performance, filling a volume, tells us that she was "in her time a lady of great virtue, wisdom, and good government." The Perrots, too—Sir Thomas's nominal progenitors—were eminent for their long lineage even among Welsh families. Of course, they have a genealogy, like all the rest of the people of Wales, mounting up to Brutus and the Trojans; but the least transcendental account of them makes them to have been seated on the same property in Pembrokeshire from the eleventh century. Thomas Perrot, Esq., of Ishingston and Haroldston, who passed for the father of Sir John, was the thirteenth in lineal descent from the first possessor of those estates in the reign of Henry the First. And the rental which he left to his son, or his wife's son, is asserted to have amounted to the enormous revenue for those days, of two-and-twenty thousand pounds a year.* As for Sir John, who appears to have come into the world about the year 1528, he is said to have borne the most striking resemblance to bluff King Harry, both in his person, except that he was of larger mould, and in his disposition and temper. "He was a man," writes his biographer, "in stature very tall and big, exceeding

* *Kimber's Baronetage* (1771), III. 458—467.

the ordinary stature of men by much, and almost equal to the mightiest men that lived in his time. His body was very compact and proportionable through all the parts. As he did exceed most men in stature, so did he in strength of body. His hair was auburn, until it grew grey in his elder years; his countenance full of majesty, his eye marvellous piercing, and carrying a commanding aspect, insomuch that when he was angry he had a very terrible visage or look, and when he was pleased, or wishing to show kindness, he then had as amiable a countenance as any one." The qualities of his mind, it is added, corresponded to those of his body; he was distinguished for his "magnanimity, valour, ripeness of judgment, understanding of the languages, as the French, Spanish, and Italian, judgment in the wars, in home government, in foreign states, in courtly carriage, and in most matters that a man not professing learning could comprehend." His principal defects were, that "he was by nature very choleric, and could not brook any crosses, or dissemble the least injuries, although offered by the greatest personages;" and "that he would, being moved to wrath, swear too much, which proceeding partly from custom and partly from choler, he could hardly refrain it when he was provoked."* He was, moreover, too fond

* *Life of Sir John Perrot, from the original MS.*, 8vo. Lon. 1728, pp. 14, &c.—"Sir John Perrot," says Swift, in the Introduction to his *Polite Conversation*, "was the first man of quality whom I find upon record to have sworn by *God's wounds*. He was supposed to be a natural son of Henry VIII., who might also probably have been his instructor." It may be added, that the oath attributed to Perrot was also a favourite one with Queen Elizabeth. Naunton, who says of Sir John Perrot, "If

of the fair sex, and somewhat vagrant in his amours, a point of his character which also Spenser has gently indicated.

The fate of this able and altogether remarkable man, Sir John Perrot, was very sad. Having previously held a subordinate appointment in that country, he was in January 1584, a few months after his son's marriage, sent over to Ireland as Chief Governor, with the title of Lord Deputy. He was recalled in 1588, and was allowed to remain unmolested for a few years; but in the spring of 1592, a charge of high treason was preferred against him, founded upon certain acts he was alleged to have done in his Irish government; being brought to trial upon this charge, he was found guilty, and sentenced to death; and, although his execution was deferred, and the respite might probably have been in course of time followed by a pardon, his rage at the injustice of his treatment threw him into an illness which soon removed him beyond the reach alike of the headsman's axe and of the royal clemency. He died in the Tower, in September of that same year. It is said that when he found himself brought in guilty and condemned to lose his life, there is every reason to believe on false evidence, the unhappy man, in his indignant astonishment, asked if the Queen was going

we compare his picture, his qualities, gesture, and voice, with that of the King's, which memory retains yet amongst us, they will plead strongly that he was a surreptitious child of the blood royal," speaks of his mother's husband, whom he calls *Sir* Thomas Perrot, as having been one of Henry the Eighth's Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and as having "in the court married a lady of great honour of the King's familiarity," —an odd expression.—*Frag. Regal.* 244.

to sacrifice *her brother* to the malice of his enemies.* Both his recorded behaviour on his trial, and his last will, written after his condemnation, bear ample testimony to his warm and vehement but withal not ungenerous temper. His Will, as it is called (but it is hardly a testamentary document in the usual sense), is principally a protestation and defence of his innocence. "I do forgive all men," he says, "and desire to be forgiven of all men, leaving all revengings for the great wrongs I have sustained to God's justice and judgment. I do hereby, in the fear of the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and upon my salvation and damnation, truly testify to all true professors of the gospel, that I have not heard any mass sithence the beginning of my sovereign the Queen's most happy reign; but I have ever sithence the beginning of King Edward the Sixth his reign, abhorred the Pope's idol of the mass,"—and so forth. He had been represented as a papist at heart, and accused of holding a traitorous correspondence both with the popish party in Ireland and with the

* As Naunton tells the story (*Frag. Regal.* 243), "On his return to the Tower after his trial, he said in oaths and in fury to the Lieutenant, Sir Owen Hopton, 'What, will the Queen suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my frisking adversaries?' Which, being made known to the Queen, and the warrant for his execution tendered and somewhat enforced, she refused to sign it, and swore he should not die, for he was an honest and a faithful man." Perrot's destruction is attributed, in a preceding sentence, chiefly to "the hatred and practice of Hatton, then in high favour, whom not long before he had too bitterly taunted for his dancing." But the fact is, that Hatton's frisking was all over a considerable time before Perrot is thus made to allude to it and to him as still extant and potential. Perrot was brought to trial on the 27th of April, 1592; and the Lord Chancellor Hatton had died on the 20th of November, 1591.

King of Spain. Again he breaks out, surely with the accent of an innocent man: "Touching my dread sovereign Queen, whom the Lord of Heaven and Earth bless and defend from all evils, and send Her Highness many happy years, with continual victory over all her enemies; and, whereas I have been of late suspected of my fidelity to Her Highness, I take the high God to witness, upon my salvation or damnation, that I have ever served Her Highness with a most loyal heart, and have always, since I saw her Majesty first, honoured and most dutifully loved Her Highness, and was the better when I saw her or could do her Highness any acceptable service, and would ever since her most happy reign have died in her service against all men that would have dared to have offended her Highness or any part of her dominions. But, alas and woe is me! that such false witness should be produced against me in a time that the gospel is preached, and my most blessed Queen not believe this my most voluntary confession to be true." Not a little hard, indeed, it was that his life should be taken, unjustly and without cause, by the very person at whose command, or in defence of whose honour or safety, he would at any time have risked it or laid it down without a murmur and without a thought.

But there was another circumstance, which, in addition to the disparity of rank, may perhaps have been thought to make an element of unhappiness in the match between young Perrot and the Lady Dorothy Devereux; it had probably been all concerted and made up by the two parties themselves, and not by

their respective families; for the fathers of the lovers had been rivals and foes. Fiery Sir John, even while residing as a private gentleman on his estate in Wales, was, his biographer records, "seldom free from ill-wishers, and such as did oppose themselves against him as much as they might;" in particular, there were "divers gentlemen of the better sort in that county wherein he dwelt," who, we are told, "to strengthen themselves the more against him, drew in Walter Earl of Essex to be their back, because some of them depended on him, who had a house called Lamphey, in Pembrokeshire, where he sometimes resided, near Sir John Perrot's castle of Carew." But "what passed betwixt him and them in private quarrels and in public contentions," the considerate chronicler proceeds, "I overpass, and will not trouble the reader therewith; partly because Sir John Perrot's carriage therein is well known to all that country, where it is fresh in the memory of many yet living, and partly for that this Earl of Essex was a worthy nobleman, wise, bountiful, and affable, whose daughter afterwards was married unto Sir John Perrot's eldest son, Sir Thomas Perrot, Knight; therefore, to advance the praise of the one, or to diminish the honour of the other (they being both dead), might sound and savour either of vanity, partiality, or malice; besides that the recital of private quarrels, duellions, or contentions is not so profitable for the reader, or praiseworthy in the writer." It is only hinted that certain interested or officious persons busied themselves in carrying false reports of the one to the other, and doing other evil offices between Sir

John and the Earl.* When Essex set out on his Irish expedition in the autumn of 1573, Perrot had been for some years President of Munster; and we have Sir John, in a letter written from Cork to the Earl of Warwick, thus touching, half contemptuously, half bitterly, upon his rival's project for the subjugation or pacification of the other end of the island:—"I understand that the Earl of Essex, with a great rout, intendeth the conquest of the North. For her Majesty's service, I wish him good success; but for himself I care not what cometh thereof, for he and his friends have sought as much to discredit me in my absence as in them lay. But, I thank the Queen's Majesty, they were not believed; neither was there any cause. If they lie on me, chide for your poor brother."† It was probably not till after Essex's death, perhaps not till after the marriage of his daughter to Perrot's son, that a reconcilement between the two families took place. Towards the end of his Will, Sir John prays the Lord to bless the young Earl of Essex, and at the same time leaves God's blessing and his own to his son and daughter (meaning his daughter-in-law), with their two little children. This, indeed, is the only thing of the nature of a bequest in the whole paper, although the writer sets out by describing it as his "true and last testament," and it fills nine or ten printed pages.‡

Sir Thomas Perrot was no doubt older than the Lady Dorothy Devereux by a good many years. He

* *Life of Perrot*, 104, 105. † *Id.* 75.

‡ *Life*, 306—313. It had been previously printed by Hearne with his *Camdeni Annales* (1717), 922, &c.

had been knighted in 1578, at Waterford, by Sir William Drury, then governing Ireland with the title of Lord Chief Justice, and, we may suppose, had previously won some distinction in arms.* He was probably, therefore, not much under thirty when he carried off Lady Dorothy in July 1583. He afterwards served in the Netherlands under Leicester; and Naunton speaks of him as being at the time of his father's death "of no mean esteem with the Queen," so that he had restitution of all the family estate, which Sir John's treason had forfeited. But his own death immediately followed that of his father, upon which "the crown," says Naunton, "resumed his estate, and took advantage of the former attainder." † His widow was left with two daughters upon her hands,—the "two little children" who were already in existence when Sir John wrote his testament in May 1592.

All that is memorable, then, in the history of Dorothy Devereux's first marriage is comprised in the one incident of its somewhat tumultuous commencement. Entered upon, as it had been, so venturously in the face of all the established rules and proprieties, there is nevertheless no reason for supposing that it had not turned out as well as if it had been more regularly gone about. However it may be with national life, there can be no doubt that the happiest domestic life is almost always that which leaves the least history. The inference from the little or nothing that we hear of Lady Dorothy during the time she was

* *Hooker's Chronicles of Ireland (in Holinshed)*, 158.

† *Frag. Reg.* 245.

the wife of Sir Thomas Perrot would be that those ten years or thereby of her existence probably had their flow as seldom much ruffled as the course of mortal fortune can well be in any circumstances.

Her second marriage, which, doubtless, had a more formal institution, and would be generally accounted a much more equal and in all respects suitable and satisfactory match, proved also more productive of matter for record.

It must have been in or before the year 1595 that the widow of Sir Thomas Perrot became the wife of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland. On the 7th of November in that year Rowland White records that my Lady of Northumberland is now known to be with child.* The birth of the child is announced by Anthony Bacon, in a letter to his mother, on the 25th of June in the following year. Having informed the old lady that a truce for three months had been concluded between the Kings of France and Spain, and that the Grand Signior had put himself at the head of an army of 200,000 men, Anthony subjoins:—"To these two general points I will add a particular, which I know your ladyship will be content to hear for my special good Lord of Essex's sake, whom God in his mercy guide and protect, to wit, that the Countess of Northumberland, always reputed a very honourable virtuous lady, is brought to bed of a goodly boy; who, God grant, may resemble and inherit, as well his mother's and his noble uncle's, her most worthy brother's, virtues, as his father's ancient nobility."†

* *Sidney Papers*, I. 359.

† *Birch*, II. 42.

We have seen what Naunton states about the resumption of Sir Thomas Perrot's estate, after his death, by the crown. The various notices that we have of this matter are not very intelligible. Camden, without making any mention of the resumption, says, that, notwithstanding Sir John Perrot's attainder, Elizabeth graciously allowed his son to inherit his property (*bona*), according to an assignment made before his conviction (*ex transcriptione prius factâ*).* From other accounts it would rather seem as if the crown had been foiled in attempting, after the death of Sir Thomas Perrot, to obtain possession of his estate under the operation of his father's attainder. Some four or five years later, at any rate, the claims of his widow and two daughters were still under dispute. White, writing to Sir Robert Sidney on the 21st of February 1597, after mentioning that Essex's persisting in keeping his chamber on pretence of illness (the well-known or universally believed fact being that there was nothing the matter with him) was noted of all men, adds,—"But I hear that what troubles him greatly is certain lands of Sir John Perrot's, which is now again called in question for the Queen, who, since his death by due course of law, was adjudged to be the right of my Lady Northumberland and her daughters. Mr. Coke [the Attorney-General] is said to be the occasion of it."† Again, on the 3rd of April White writes:—"My Lord of Essex kept his chamber three days this week, troubled with a great heat in the mouth, which happened by overmuch exercise at balloon [foot-ball], but is now well again; and Mr. Attorney's

* *Annal.*, 647.

† *Sidney Papers*, II. 18.

prosecuting of the matter against my Lord Northumberland for his wife's jointure doth exceedingly disquiet him."* The jointure was probably of considerable amount; and Coke's present attempt would seem to have been to recover from Northumberland what had already been paid of it, as well as to deprive him of it for the future. The case, however, was expected to end in the discomfiture of the zealous or officious law-officer of the crown. Essex's secretary, Edward Reynolds, writes to Anthony Bacon on the 12th of March: —"The Countess of Northumberland's matter is brought about again, and her jointure shall be established, notwithstanding all Mr. Attorney's traverses." †

But worse troubles than this had already begun to darken the horizon of the poor Countess. Anthony Bacon's prayer for the boy whom she had brought into the world in June 1596, that he might inherit the virtues of his mother and his uncle, as well as "his father's ancient nobility," was well weighed in regard to its expression. This was all the length that Anthony felt he could conscientiously go, even on such an occasion, in speaking of the Earl. That first-born son, and also a second, were to be snatched away in early infancy from their mother's eyes. But the wife had already experienced a sharper sorrow than the mother. So early as in March 1596, perhaps within six months after her marriage, Anthony Bacon had conceived it to be his duty to transmit to her the following anonymous intimation:—"Most honoured Lady, If I could digest any injury offered you, I would rather conceal that

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 35. † *Birch*, II. 295.

which I write than trouble you with other's folly, protesting I am as free from malice as [zealous] to keep you from being abused. So it is, that your lord hath gotten him a chamber at court, where one of his old acquaintance is lodged. What his meaning is, I know not; but you may perceive he bears small respect to you, that will give occasion, if any will be so simple as to think he can neglect you for a ruined creature. Therefore, madam, support cheerfully yourself with your wonted wisdom, and let them not unworthy disquiet your mind. Proportion your affection according to their deserts, and consider that we are not bound by virtue to love them that will unloose themselves by vice. Thus much the honour I bear you hath enforced me to say. More I will not, for I am one devoted to your service, and do not conceal my name for shame or fear."*

What particular passion or principle it was, in obedience to which the writer of this remarkable communication concealed his name, may not seem very obvious; there may be a difference of opinion as to the propriety of his writing such a letter at all in the circumstances, without his name or with it; it may even be suspected that he was partly, though perhaps unconsciously, actuated by feelings of a lower character than he was himself aware of; his precise object may be thought to be nearly as unintelligible, or as disputable, as his motive. Yet, although his dislike to the Earl, and his ill opinion of him, are evident, Anthony Bacon certainly would not have invented such

* *Birch*, II. 455.

a charge as he here makes; nor is he likely to have made it without having good grounds for believing it to be true. It is odd, indeed, that, with the strong sense he had of the heinousness of Northumberland's conjugal misconduct, he should profess such respect for the virtues of Essex, whom he must have known to be so far from immaculate in the same way; but no doubt he had satisfied himself that there was some essential difference between the two cases. Essex, at least, if he was always sinning, was also always repenting; he was, besides, in creed if not in conduct, a sort of Puritan; Northumberland, who, if he was not himself a Romanist, was much connected with persons of that persuasion, was probably looked upon both by Anthony Bacon and his mother as hardly even a Christian.

Very possibly affection had not had much to do in bringing about the match between Northumberland and Sir Thomas Perrot's well-jointured widow. At any rate, although they continued to hold on together in the matrimonial yoke, with only now and then an impatient outbreak or off-break, which was soon over, and the Countess appears to the last to have acted the part of a forgiving, if not of a loving wife, it is too evident that their union was not a happy one. For a time there was one direction in which they looked together,—to where the mighty star of Essex either shone with full and steady light, or, it might be, shot a fiercer radiance through cloud and tempest. So long as Essex lived, or at least so long as he retained either the royal favour, or an apparent chance of regaining

whatever of it he might have lost or thrown away, Northumberland upon all occasions vied with his wife in professions of attachment and devotion to her brother. Thus, in August 1598, during Essex's grand secession from the Court after his box on the ear, we have the Earl concluding a letter to him from Petworth in this ardent strain:—"What shall I say, but that still I am at your devotion? Many words are idle, howsoever meant, so long as there wants means in me to demonstrate them otherwise. Therefore, wishing you no worse than to my own soul, I rest your faithful brother, in whom you have all power, NORTHUMBERLAND."* The Countess writes during the same crisis, with more sobriety, and probably also with more sincerity:—"Dear Brother, I long to know how you will dispose of yourself in this froward world, which yields nothing but discontentments, and the more to them that are apt to receive them; among which number I wish I were not. But I will seek to put it from me as much as is possible, though I never look but to have cause sufficient. I will no longer trouble you with my melancholy style, but end with wishing you all contentment. Your most affectionate sister, D. NORTHUMBERLAND."† So subdued, we might almost say sad, a tone as we have here, sounds as if it came from one not only inured to disappointment, but anxious and apprehensive by nature. There is more in the Countess of her father than of her mother. In her the delicate constitution of the Devereuxes has a larger share than the strong vitality of the Knollyses.

* *Birch*, II. 391. † *Id.* 392.

After her brother's submission and return to Court in September, she again writes to him somewhat less despondingly, but still in the same quiet manner:—"Dear Brother, I cannot but desire to know how the Court air and humours agree with you. If both sort with your health and contentment, none shall be more glad; if otherwise, I will hope that your wisdom and patience, which have ever accompanied you, will be a remedy against all evils. To which companions I leave your worthy mind, remaining your most affectionate sister, D. NORTHUMBERLAND."*

Yet the quietness was rather of manner than of feeling, or was more a restraint which she put upon herself than any want of spirit. Other passages of her history show that she had plenty of that, and that, when once roused, she was as capable of acting as of suffering, of resolution as of resignation. About a year after the date of the letters just quoted, we have her suddenly starting up into a new attitude, and evincing her sense of her domestic injuries with sufficient energy. "Yesternight," Rowland White reports to Sidney, from London, on the 16th of October 1599, "somewhat late, the Countess of Northumberland came to Essex House; a muttering there is, that there is unkindness grown between her and the Earl, her husband, upon which they are parted; but I do not write it as a truth, but as mistrusted."† He mentions it, he means to say, as a thing which there is reason to fear is true. It was quite true: the rupture lasted for more than two years. For a time, the Countess appears to

* *Birch*, II. 392. † *Sidney Papers*, II. 133.

have even refused to return to her husband's house. We hear of her as being in straitened circumstances, as if she was endeavouring to maintain herself without his assistance. On the 12th of January 1600 White writes:—"The Lady Northumberland was in Court; she spoke with the Queen, complained of the little means she had to live, and besought her Majesty's favour."* At this time, it may be remembered, Essex lay a prisoner in York House; he had been committed upon his return from Ireland, in the end of the preceding September, and he remained in custody till the end of August.† The Countess of Northumberland did not, in the midst of her own sorrows, forget her brother; she had, before this, several times put on mourning and accompanied Lady Rich to Court to make suit in his behalf; but she seems scarcely to have exerted herself with the same passionate zeal as her younger sister. Towards the end of July, when poor Lady Rich had got into a scrape by her "piquant letter," and had been ordered to keep her house, and threatened with being brought up before the Lords of the Council,‡ Lady Northumberland is spoken of by White as having become a great courtier, and as being very graciously used by her Majesty, and often with her.§ So again, on the 26th of September, about a month after Essex's liberation, he writes:—"The Countess of Northumberland is at Court, and very often with the Queen." ‖ Neither she nor her husband appears in the closing scene of the Essex tragedy. The

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 159. † See *Vol.* I. *pp.* 177-188.
‡ See *Vol.* I. *pp.* 187, 250, &c. § *Sidney Papers*, II. 213. ‖ *Id.* 216.

Earl was then (in February 1601) in the Netherlands, whither he had betaken himself in the preceding summer.

The next notices that we have of the Countess are to be found in those curious letters of Lord Henry Howard, which Lord Hailes has published under the title of "The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI., King of Scotland." Lord Henry (afterwards created Earl of Northampton) was the agent on the part of Cecil in this correspondence, as were the Earl of Marr and Mr. Edward Bruce, styled the Abbot of Kinloss, or Lord Kinloss, on that of James. Northumberland had returned from the Continent some time before the end of the year 1601, and he and his wife had, it appears, to a certain extent, been reconciled, and were again living together. The Earl, however, who, like the other connexions of Essex, used to be all zeal for the Scottish succession, had lately got into the hands of Raleigh and Lord Cobham, and (such, at least, is Lord Henry's representation) had taken quite a new tack in politics. One day, after being with Cecil, who maliciously left him in the dark, or rather misled him as to his own wishes and intentions, he came back to his wife, and, in his triumphant security, told her he would be better pleased to see the King of Scots buried than crowned, and that both he and all his friends would lose their lives before "her brother's great god" should reign in England. "The lady," continues the narrative, "told him again, that, rather than any other than King James should ever reign in this place, she would rather eat their hearts in salt, though she were

brought to the gallows instantly. He told her, that the Secretary [Cecil] had too much wit ever to live under a man that had a foreign stock, having been so fortunate under a woman, that was tractable, and to be counselled. The lady told him that he need not long triumph upon her poor brother's mishap, for, if he kept in this mind, she could expect no better end of him than the same or a worse destiny." This Lord Henry retails as a piece of news to Bruce in the beginning of December 1601. And so, he says, they parted again in passion, after the momentary reconcilement which had succeeded their two years' rupture and separation. In about ten days the Earl came back and made up matters with his wife; but, if we may believe Lord Henry, who, the reader perceives, is no favourable reporter where Northumberland is concerned, his only motive was his wish to have a son, to prevent his titles and estates going to his brothers, all of whom (there were six of them) he mortally detested.* Northumberland obtained his desire in regard to an heir male of his own body. Before this, besides the two sons who died in infancy, the Countess had borne him two daughters; and in the end of September, or beginning of October 1602,† she was brought to bed of a third son, who grew up, and inherited the Earldom.

Lord Henry goes on in the same letter to relate that Northumberland, after his altercation with his wife, came again to Cecil, and, complaining to him of her Scottish heart, wanted the Secretary to inform the

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 29-32.

† *MS. Letter of Chamberlain, 2nd October.*

Queen of that blot in her character; this, however, Cecil declined doing, and advised his lordship also to let the matter drop, "because the world would abhor him, and of such a kind of malice, and so grounded, there was no redemption nor recovery." The case, Cecil told him, was one in which he could not hurt the object of his dislike without hurting himself a great deal more. In his overflowing confidence, the Earl confessed to the wily Secretary "that he had much ado to love his own daughters, because they were of that generation." Cecil comforted him by suggesting that perhaps they might take after himself.

But there is still more about the Countess in this remarkable letter. One part of the scheme of Northumberland and his confederates, Lord Henry proceeds to intimate, was, that the Earl "should in any wise make much of his wife for a while, to fish out the secrets of the faction of Essex, which way they inclined, and who among them were affected to the part of Scotland," &c.; and this rule, it seems, Northumberland "followed so mischievously, working at the first upon the love and kindness of a wife too true and good for him," that, till she was warned to be on her guard, he very much abused her credulity. Meanwhile, whatever he could get out of her by insinuation and flattery he carried to his employers, (for, according to Lord Henry, he was a mere tool of Raleigh and Cobham,) assuring them, among other things, that the Essexians were all Scottish, that Essex's widow prayed daily for King James, and, as the letter-writer of course does not forget to mention, that the house of Howard was

wholly swayed and carried by my Lord Henry, whose heart he knew to be bent in the same direction. But the thing upon which Lord Henry most congratulates himself and his correspondent, the agent of the Scottish King, is, that the Countess of Northumberland, misled by her lord, himself deceived by Cecil, railed bitterly against the Secretary for being an enemy to King James, bestowing her curse upon him on that account. At the same time the Earl went on making his imaginary revelations to his associates, patched up of whatever he could extract either from the simplicity and honesty of his wife, or from Cecil's mystifications.

But many years did not pass before the Earl was once more separated from his wife, this time without either his own consent or hers. In November 1605, on the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, the chief contriver of which, Thomas Percy, was his kinsman, Northumberland was apprehended on certain charges, the principal of which was, that it was through him that Percy, who was a Catholic, had been admitted to be one of the Company of Gentlemen Pensioners; the Star Chamber condemned him to pay a fine to the King of thirty thousand pounds, besides losing all his employments, and to be imprisoned for life; and he lay in the Tower for above fifteen years. After some time, however, the Countess was permitted to visit him; and, in the new circumstances in which they were both placed, they seem to have got on more harmoniously than they had ever done before. His detention kept the Earl out of mischief; and, altogether, the calamity that had fallen upon him probably improved his

character, both by checking his weaker propensities and by bringing out his better points. His wife appears to have enjoyed his confidence, and to have been very serviceable to him, not only in the management of his family, which of course was left mainly in her hands, but in the general conduct of his private affairs.

In particular, the Countess repeatedly made suit to the King in her husband's behalf. This we gather from his own petitions to his Majesty and his letters to his friends, many of which have been published. Among other persons to whom he wrote several times, was the Earl of Northampton (*ci-devant* Lord Henry Howard); and the terms in which he addresses him show how little he was aware of the estimation in which he was held in that quarter. Thus, on the 2nd of February 1607, he entreats Northampton, from his noble mind, to be a helper forward of the suit which he had sent his wife to solicit for him of his Majesty. Again, on the 13th of July in the following year, he writes to the same nobleman:—"Your lordship knows how my affections have been towards the King, our master, this many years; and for that point I dare appeal to you above any man, for no man hath known it so long. And, to add to all this, I may challenge somewhat out of long familiarity from you, in case that concerns not my disloyalty to the King, to remember the love hath been, and to forget little breaches, if there have been any; and to assist my wife, a suitor, who is now coming towards the King, with your helps." In an appeal addressed to James himself, on the 7th of

January 1609, he observes:—"At my last soliciting your Majesty by my wife to think of my liberty, it pleased you to say you would take your own time. I have not been importunate since, because I conceived it disliked you; though it be a matter almost the dearest thing man enjoys." From what follows it appears that the Countess had urged upon the King her husband's innocence of all knowledge of Percy's conspiracy, a point upon which his own protestations had all along been in the most energetic tone. James had observed, among other speeches, that he wished the Earl could prove that Percy gave him not notice. "Your Majesty," says his lordship, "that is so great a scholar, and so judicious, cannot but know how impossible it is to prove a negative."

The demands of the crown for the payment of the Earl's fine appear to have soon after this become extremely urgent. A reduction of the thirty thousand to twenty thousand pounds had been accorded; but beyond that the royal indulgence would not go. For those times the sum was still enormous; so much money was scarcely to be raised out of the most ample landed estate without extreme difficulty and ruinous sacrifices. On the 16th of October 1611 we have the Earl making another of several applications to the Lords of the Council, in which he thus touchingly expresses himself:—"Though my loss have been great already, I shall be ashamed to clamour too much in a money matter if I speak in mine own voice, all I have being at his Majesty's service; but since I cry in the voices of children and others, that hath and must

taste of the bitterness of my misfortunes, without likelihood of other helps than from myself, I hope you will pardon me; not repining at any man's good hap, or searching the causes, but grieving at my own evil fortunes, to be so often called upon, and so hardly, towards the undoing of my house; noting his Majesty's favours to others, and remembering his Majesty's most gracious promise to my wife (upon occasion, she laying open the greatness of the fine for faults of that nature) that he would never hurt her or her children; thereby making me the rather to plead for them with earnestness."

All that he could say, however, was of no avail. It was affirmed that the money was wanted, and must be had, to pay the Queen's debts, or for some other such sacred or inevitable object; and in the end the crown resorted to the extreme measure of seizing the Earl's estates, granting them out in leases, and appointing the rents to be paid into the hands of the public Receivers of the counties in which they severally lay. This proceeding touched the poor Earl to the quick. "The thing itself that is in hand," he wrote passionately to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury (his old confidant Cecil), when he first received information of what was about to be done, on the 2nd of February 1612, "is extraordinary and not to be paralleled. For, first, it is the greatest fine that ever was imposed upon a subject. . . . To be levied in this fashion is not used, or, if let, yet for the benefit of the owner, and not for his ruin. By this course is taken, I see not but Receivers may make what accounts they list, pay

the King at leisure, yet I not quitted of half that is gathered; my lands spoiled; my houses ruinated; my suits in law receive prejudice; my officers imprisoned, that stand bound for me; my debts unsatisfied; relief by borrowing taken away. My brothers and servants must suffer; my wife, children, and myself must starve; for the Receivers are, by their leases, to account but once in the year; for which service of gathering they have their reward, two shillings in the pound, besides gain in retaining the money in their hands, and commodities many ways else. In all this provision for them, I find not a thought of one penny either for wife, child, or myself; so as there wants nothing but strewing the land with salt to make it a pattern of severe punishment. And whether these things should pierce into the heart of a human man, I leave to your lordship to think of."

On the 12th of June in the same year he once more addressed himself to King James. "Humbly appealing to your Majesty," he wrote, "let me deliver thus much truly:—That, if you would seize into your hands all the revenue that we, your poor subjects, hath in the world to support us; and that you would sell all our goods, to the very bed I lie on; to allow us nothing to give us bread to put in our mouths; neither to suffer brothers, kindred, servants to enjoy such pensions and annuities as they have out of my lands; yet that sum of 20,000*l.* could not be raised in two years." That was the term within which the crown insisted upon having the money. The Earl urges that his only possible way of raising it would be to part with that

for 20,000*l.* which was worth twice as much, and that in truth the exaction of 20,000*l.* in two years was more oppressive than a fine of 60,000*l.* made payable by instalments at the customary rate.

The extorting so large a sum as 10,000*l.* a year out of the Earl's revenues was apparently found to be impracticable by any method that could be taken; so it was arranged that the 20,000*l.* should be paid at the rate of 3000*l.* annually. But even this proved to be a larger sum than could be raised without the severest pressure. In these circumstances the Countess again sought the royal presence on the 30th of September in this same year, immediately after his Majesty had returned to Hampton Court from a progress, and presented a petition in her own name, in which, after observing that the 3000*l.* a year could not be had without a great hindrance to herself and her children's preferments, she went on; "I humbly entreat your Majesty to look into the crystal of your own heart, and see there whether my Lord hath done any act that can merit such an ensample of proceedings for a fine in the Star Chamber, that no record, it is conceived, can any way equal, either in greatness of the fine, greatness of the instalment, or in this rare and unknown course of execution." "Though the levying of so great a fine of money, and in this manner," she added, "is likely to prove the undoing of me and my children, whom your Majesty promised, out of your grace, you would never hurt with this fine, when I was an humble suitor to you, yet it will be so small a supply to your Majesty's pretended [*that is,* declared] wants,

that it will be scarcely seen, much less felt; and God forbid that one or two poor creatures should suffer because your Majesty's coffers are empty." Finally she called to his Majesty's remembrance that, when some six years since she had been an humble suitor for her lord's liberty, on her laying open the smallness of the offences he was censured for, his Majesty had said, it was not for those censures [imputations] the Earl was so restrained, though his own kindred were his accusers; but because he, the King, must have a care of the safety of his own *bairns*. In reference to that insinuation, whatever it might precisely mean, the Countess now merely remarks, "I hope time hath given you understanding how little those fears are to be fostered in the heart of a King ruling over dutiful subjects."

On the 14th of April in the following year, 1613, the Earl himself addressed another petition to the King. In that he stated that his two daughters were now of the ages of fifteen and fourteen, and that the time of their preferments for all their lives was at hand, and would not admit long delay. He meant that it was become necessary to think of making provision for having them suitably married. The leases had by this time been recalled; but fifteen thousand pounds of his fine still remained unpaid. To rid himself of this incumbrance at once, he now offers to make over to his Majesty the estate of Sion, being the only portion of his lands that he can dispose of, the rest being all entailed. It had been a gift from James on his accession; but the Earl had since expended nearly nine thousand pounds upon the house and

gardens, and he considered the property fully equivalent to the amount that remained due of his fine. This proposed arrangement, however, was not carried into effect. On the 23d of August we have him applying again, in his desperation, to his seeming friend Northampton. "The frankness of your love," he writes, "bids me desire you, out of your love, easing me in this matter of fine. . . . The person you shall do this favour for is, to myself, I know you wish well to; my wife, I know you do not hate; and to my children, that may impute a part of their being to you; for, if you had not been, they had not numbered their days." What act of Northampton's these last expressions refer to does not appear; perhaps he had been instrumental in procuring the extension of time for the payment of the fine, or had at least contrived to obtain the credit of having been so. From the conclusion of Northumberland's letter, however, it may be inferred that he knew his man, and expected nothing from him except in the way of a *quid pro quo*. Having eulogised Northampton for the good offices he assumes him to have done in the cases of Raleigh and others, no one of whom, he says, he is convinced hath that place in his heart which he conceives himself to have, if he be not deceived, so that his lordship must give him and his family leave to expect to be beholden to him, he adds; "What I do offer this bearer can tell your lordship, to whom I have committed the charge; as being too long for a letter, and yet reasonable for a debt of this nature."*

* These interesting Letters of the Earl of Northumberland were first

After all, the fine, we are assured, was paid by Northumberland to the uttermost farthing before the end of the year 1614. If such was the fact, he must have borrowed the money. The payment of his fine, at any rate, if it was then paid, did not procure the Earl his liberty. He was detained for more than six years longer. And before he was released, he lost his wife; she died at Petworth, on the 3rd of August, 1619. Her age cannot well have been more than fifty-three or fifty-four.

Here, then, was a life of moderate length, which would seem to have been almost equally divided between light and shadow, a sunny enough morning and a more than sombre afternoon. The Lady Dorothy Devereux may not have had the brilliant beauty of her elder sister, which Sidney has immortalised; but something, no doubt, of the handsome family face fell to her share. Her first adventure may be held a sufficient proof of that. She would hardly have inspired so impetuous a passion in the gallant soldier who made her his prize before she was out of her teens, if she had been merely an ordinary-looking girl. Her love-match with Sir Thomas Perrot may have entailed upon her for a time the loss of some things which love little cares for; but those days were probably, upon the whole, the happiest she ever knew. Her first heavy

published by Collins in the *Supplement* to the First Edition of his *Peerage*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1750. They are reprinted in full in the Second, Third, and Fourth Editions; in the Fifth (8 vols. 8vo, 1779), and the Sixth (9 vols. 8vo, published under the superintendence of Sir Egerton Brydges in 1812), only extracts are given of "a few of the most material passages," though corrected by "more authentic copies."

sorrows, as far as we know, came in the fatal year 1592, when the destruction of her father-in-law was immediately followed by the death of her husband in the prime of life. She may have been seven or eight and twenty when her household gods were thus shattered around her. In the succeeding half of her life she moved in a higher sphere; but almost from the hour that she became Countess of Northumberland she experienced nothing but a continued succession of trials and troubles,—first, coming fast after one another, and crowding a singular variety of sorrows within the compass of a few years, the neglect and ill-usage of her husband, the deaths of several of her children, the bloody fate of her brother, and her sister's unhappy story,—then, at last, the sudden storm that enveloped the Earl, threatening the utter ruin of his princely house, which darkened and oppressed the whole remainder of her existence. Throughout all this she appears to have played her part at least as creditably as any other member, male or female, of the remarkable family from which she was sprung, with whom we have yet had anything to do. She was probably a more common-place personage than any of them in all respects—having less about her that was striking, either in mind or character, than either father or mother, brother or sister. On the other hand she was, perhaps, comparatively free from some of their weaknesses. Or it may have been circumstances that made most of the difference. The sensitive, excitable temperament of her race evidently was not wanting in her any more than in her sister or her brother; their more

extraordinary positions and fortunes brought it out in more violent manifestation; in her story, too, we have it, on one or two occasions, striking fire, and, even while it lay quiet in outward seeming, it was probably eating into her life.

But, besides the interest we may take in her on her own account, Dorothy Countess of Northumberland occupies a conspicuous place in the romantic history of the peerage as the mother of Dorothy Countess of Leicester and of Lucy Countess of Carlisle; and as the grandmother, through the former, of Dorothy Countess of Sunderland (Waller's *Sacharissa*), as well as of Algernon Sidney, the patriot.

THE OLD PERCIES.

INSTEAD of there being nothing in a name, names have been in all ages among the most potent things in the world. They have stirred and swayed mankind, and still do, simply as names, without any meaning being attached to them. When Madame Roland exclaimed on the scaffold, "Oh Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name," she uttered something much more comprehensive, and of much deeper import, than a lament over the hollow and dishonest pretences by which political leaders frequently delude their followers. The crimes committed in the name of liberty have been mostly committed by those by whom the name has been used in good faith. They have only mistaken or quite disregarded what it really signifies. But the influence over the imagination that often lies in a name is what few of us are altogether insensible to. Of two sounds designating or indicating the same thing, the one shall, by its associations, raise an emotion of the sublime, the other of the ridiculous. There can hardly be a stronger instance of this than we have in the two paternal names, the assumed and the genuine one, of the family at present possessing the Northumberland title. The former, Percy, is a name for poetry to conjure with; [it is itself poetry,

of a high and epic tone, and may be said to move the English heart "more than the sound of a trumpet," as Sidney tells us his was moved whenever he heard the rude old ballad in which it is celebrated; but when Canning, or whoever else it was, in the *Anti-jacobin* audaciously came out with

> "Duke Smithson of Northumberland
> A vow to God did make,"

he set the town in a roar.

Strictly speaking, however, even the old historic Earls of Northumberland were not Percies. They were not paternally descended from the original bearers of that name. The line is remarkable for having thrice ended in a female, and having been each time, through the marriage of the heiress, revived by absorption in another stream of descent.

The popular fancy has found an origin for the name *Percy* without any difficulty. The great Scottish King, Malcolm Canmore, was slain in an attack on the Castle of Alnwick, in the latter part of the eleventh century. That is all that is known. But Alnwick Castle is a house of the Percies. This, then, is what must have happened. The royal Scot was thrust through the eye by the spear of the Lord of the Castle, who in consequence received or assumed the *sobriquet* or surname of *Pierce Eye*. This account, which has been adopted by grave historians, is perfectly conformable to what were till lately the established etymological notions, according to which any name or other word was satisfactorily analysed and explained by

much the same kind of process as that by which Swift resolved *Alexander the Great* into *All eggs under the grate.* Unfortunately for the story, the Percies had nothing to do with Alnwick Castle till some centuries after the date of the siege; indeed *Percy* had ceased to be the true family name before they got any establishment at all in Northumberland; while, on the other hand, they had borne that name long before the days of Malcolm Canmore.

Their first recorded ancestor flourished nearly a thousand years ago. The Danish chieftain, or pirate, Mainfred, had made his name a terror to France before the invasion of Rollo in 886, which ended in the acquisition of Normandy in about a quarter of a century after. His son Galfred, or Geoffrey, accompanied Rollo, and became Lord of the town of *Percy*, or more properly *Persy*, in Lower Normandy. His descendants, according to the universal custom, were distinguished, taking them in the order of their succession from father to son, as William, Geoffrey, another William, and another Geoffrey, de Percy, or of Percy. This kind of annexation was the earliest and for some time the only kind of surname. A surname—*Sieur*-name, or, as we might say, *lord*-name,—was originally a sort of title of nobility, or at least of territorial property. This was the only addition to the baptismal name that could at first naturally descend and become a family name. The person who exercised a particular handicraft might as an individual be distinguished by the name of his trade; but his children would not seem to have any rational claim to the same

designation. They would rather get each a new name from his own trade. Hugh, the son of Walter the Smith, who became a fabricator of bows or of arrows, would be called not Hugh Smith, but Hugh Bowyer or Hugh Fletcher. Such designations as these were at first rather of the nature of nicknames than of surnames. They were given not to the family, but to the individual. No family had what was properly a surname except the families of the landed proprietors. Indeed the notion of a family or lineage at all scarcely existed except in connexion with property in the land. It was the possession of such heritable property alone that seemed to make any real continuity in a succession of generations. The son of John the ploughman, who became a shepherd, and his grandson who became a cowherd or a swineherd, and were both removed, perhaps, to other parishes or other farms, were but very dimly recognised by the public understanding in their relationship either to him or to one another. To constitute any distinct idea of a family, or what was called a house, a stationary position was requisite. The custom which very generally prevailed of the son following the trade of his father helped, indeed, to establish surnames, or what passed for such and answered the same purpose, the sooner among all classes of the population; and with the acquisition of surnames by every body came the clear apprehension of the fact that other people had ancestors as well as the lords of the soil. But this was scarcely admitted, or, more properly speaking, had not come to be suspected, when the surname of Percy first began to be used.

The last mentioned Geoffrey de Percy, the fifth in descent from Mainfred the Dane, had several sons, two of whom were among the followers of their Duke, William of Normandy, in his invasion of England. The history of Serlo, the younger of the two, is typical of that enthusiastic time, when men, at once strong and simple of heart, followed with equal ardour, as they best might, their passions and their principles, or rather when whatever they took up as a principle became a passion and an inspiration. All was passion—war, love, poetry, patriotism, religion; for the most part, indeed, it was the same fire that burst forth, according to circumstances, in all these diverse manifestations. Hence it naturally often happened that the eyes which had flashed fiercest through the vizor in youth would be seen in age looking with holiest pity from under the cowl. Serlo de Percy was in early life the familiar and most beloved companion of the Conqueror's second son, who succeeded him on his English throne, the furious, cruel, and profligate William Rufus; he died, in 1202, Prior of the Abbey of St. Hilda in Yorkshire. And another Percy, his nephew, succeeded him in his holy office, and presided over the monastery, with an immense reputation for sanctity, for six-and-twenty years. He appears to have been the son of a brother of William and Serlo, who had been left behind in Normandy. As for William, the elder of the two brothers who had accompanied the Conqueror, he became one of the greatest lords in England. About a hundred and twenty lordships in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and other parts, are set down in Domesday Book as his property.

He was, of course, a Baron of the realm. His family name being probably reserved for occasions of form and ceremony, he was familiarly known in his own day as *Guillaume al gernons*, that is, *Will with the Whiskers* —which puts us in possession of at least one point in the personal appearance of this founder of the English house of Percy. Hence *Algernon* became a common baptismal name among his descendants. He too, as well as his brother the monk, died what was accounted a religious death; having joined the first Crusade under Robert of Normandy in 1096, he breathed his last at Mountjoy, near Jerusalem, the eminence from which the Christian pilgrims were wont to obtain their first view of the Holy City; and there his remains were interred by his faithful followers, all except his heart, which they brought back with them to England to be deposited in his brother's monastery of St. Hilda at Whitby.

Will with the Whiskers must have been a good fellow, if it be true, as we are told by an old writer, that his wife, Emma de Port, was the Saxon heiress of some of the lands which were bestowed upon him by the Conqueror, and that "he wedded her in discharging of his conscience." It is thought by some that this lady was the daughter of Gospatric, the great Saxon Earl of Northumberland. She survived her husband, to whom she had borne four sons. Alan de Percy, the eldest, whom in modern fashion we should style the second Lord Percy, is called in writings of his time the Great Alan; but apparently not so much with reference to his actions as to his great possessions. He married Emma de Gaunt, daughter of one of the sons of

Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and therefore grand-niece of Queen Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror. The eldest of their seven sons, William de Percy, became the third Baron. He and an illegitimate brother of his, Alan the Bastard as he was called, one of the most distinguished soldiers of that age, were both at the famous Battle of the Standard, fought on the 22nd of August 1138, but on opposite sides;—Lord Percy on that of King Stephen, who proved victorious; the Bastard, in the army of the Scottish King David, the defender of the rights of his niece the Empress Matilda. With this third Lord Percy, the last mention of whom as alive is in the year 1168, about a century after the Conquest, the male line of the Percies became extinct, at least in the only branch in which the estates and honours were held to descend; Lord Percy appears to have had by two wives four sons as well as two daughters; but all his sons died before himself, and his two daughters were left his heirs. Maud, the eldest daughter, who married William de Plesset Earl of Warwick, and who lived till 1204 or 1205, had no issue. The younger, Agnes, preserved and transmitted the Percy blood by carrying it into a new channel.

She made a very high matrimonial alliance. Her husband was Josceline of Lovaine, brother of Queen Alice, second wife of Henry I., and son of Godfrey Duke of Nether Lorraine and Count of Brabant and Lovaine. The house to which Josceline belonged was one of the most illustrious in Europe; besides being a branch of that of the old Counts or Dukes of Hainault, it was regarded as having acquired, by the marriage of

Count Lambert, Josceline's great-grandfather, with Gerberga, daughter of Charles Duke of Lorraine, the representation of the Emperor Charlemagne and of the Carlovingian Kings of France. Agnes de Percy, however, it is related, would only give her hand to her high-born foreign suitor on condition that, along with her English lands, he should assume her ancestral name; Josceline hesitated, but, after taking counsel with the Queen his sister, he got over his scruples. He only retained, in memory of his father's house, the old arms of Hainault, being, it is said, the azure lion rampant on the field of gold, which still figures in the Percy coat. The device borne by the preceding Percies had been five gold fusils in fess on an azure field; and that continued to be borne by all the branches of the family not sprung from Josceline of Lovaine.

Josceline was not altogether landless; it was he who brought into the Percy family the honour of Petworth, in Sussex, which henceforth became one of their principal seats. He died a good many years before his wife, who appears also to have outlived her elder sister. The issue of the marriage of Agnes Percy with Josceline of Lovaine were four sons and two daughters. Their mother, who must have had a will of her own, is charged with having trampled upon rule and usage in another more serious matter, as well as in insisting that Josceline should lay aside his own name and take hers; of her four sons, the youngest, Richard, it seems, was her favourite, and to him she would have had all the old estates of the Percies to go, contending that her eldest son, Henry, or rather (for he was himself

dead) his infant son William, was entitled to only what had belonged to her husband. Richard, on the death of his aunt the Countess of Warwick, actually, with the assistance of his mother, possessed himself of all her inheritance; when his mother died, he seized also upon a portion at least of her share of the Percy property; and he retained the greater part of what he had thus appropriated while he lived. He was recognised throughout his life as the head of the Percy family, and was in the enjoyment of all its baronial rights. As one of the barons who took up arms against King John, he had a principal hand in extorting the Great Charter, and was one of the twenty-five Guardians or Conservators appointed to see it duly observed. He survived till about the year 1244. Then, although Richard had left a son, all the ancient patrimony of the Percies, with the exception of an insignificant portion reserved for that son, who was no longer ranked among the barons, reverted to the son and heir of his elder brother Henry, according to a decision of King Henry the Third, pronounced a few years before. This William de Percy, however, scarcely survived his usurping uncle a twelvemonth. His eldest son and heir, Henry, at first joined the barons who rose in rebellion against Henry III., in 1263; but he afterwards came over to he royal side, and the next year he was taken prisoner fighting stoutly on that side at the battle of Lewes. He lived till 1272, and had three sons, the two eldest of whom died without issue, so that the youngest, Henry, eventually became his heir.

This Henry is commonly reckoned the first Baron

Percy, as being the first of whose summons to Parliament there is evidence on record. He had such summons from the year 1299, the 28th of Edward I.; and the precedence of the old barony (which, however, is generally held to be no longer in existence), is regarded as being determined by that date. It was he who in 1309 purchased the lordship and estate of Alnwick from Anthony Beck, the fighting Bishop of Durham, who had some years before obtained it by grant from William Lord de Vesci; and hence he and his successors were afterwards wont to take their titular designation. The first Lord Percy of Alnwick was one of the most distinguished military men of his time; he makes a great figure in all the Scottish wars, from the victory of the first Edward at Dunbar, in 1296, to the defeat of the second at Bannockburn, in 1314; and it may be considered to have been the frequent intercourse into which he was thus thrown with the northern kingdom that first brought about the connexion of the Percies with the border county where they have had their head lair for the last five hundred years.

Much larger acquisitions in Northumberland were made by the son and successor of the purchaser of Alnwick, who was also named Henry—as indeed, with one exception, was every head of the house of Percy from this time down to near the middle of the seventeenth century. From Edward II., Henry second Lord Percy of Alnwick obtained a grant of all the forfeited Northumberland estates of Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March; and from Edward III. the barony and castle of Warkworth, with the manors of Rothbury, Newburn, and

Corbrig, which had all heretofore belonged to John de Clavering, in the same county. This lord was one of the third Edward's principal captains in both his Scotch and his French wars. He was at the winning of the battle of Hallidown Hill over the Scots in July 1333, and at the great sea-fight in which the French were beaten at Sluys in June 1340; and he was chief in command in October 1346, at Nevil's Cross, where the Scots sustained another signal defeat, and their king, David II., the unhappy son and successor of the illustrious Robert Bruce, fell into the hands of the victors.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry, in 1352. This third Lord Percy, of Alnwick, was thirty years of age when he came to the title, and he had already been well trained to military service in France and elsewhere. While his father was marching, or preparing to march, to meet the King of Scots at Nevil's Cross, he had been sharing the glories of the field of Crecy with King Edward and the Black Prince. He held afterwards many important appointments and commissions, but he died in 1368, at the age of forty-six; and he is less notable in himself than on account of the remarkable fortunes both of his eldest and of another son, both born to him by his first wife, Lady Mary Plantagenet, or the Lady Mary of Lancaster, as she was usually styled, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and great-granddaughter of King Henry the Third. They are the Henry Earl of Northumberland and Thomas Earl of Worcester whom Shakespeare has made so familiar to us in his *Richard the Second* and *Henry the Fourth*.

Henry, the elder of the two, had been a soldier from the time he was seventeen. He was in his six-and-twentieth year when he became Lord Percy; and nine years later, at the coronation of Richard the Second, he was raised to the rank of Earl of Northumberland. His brother, after having gained great reputation as a military commander, both on land and at sea, under the name of Sir Thomas Percy, was created Earl of Worcester by Richard in 1397. How both brothers afterwards first helped Bolingbroke to oust Richard from the throne, and then rose in rebellion against the new King they had set up, is known to every reader of English history or English poetry. Worcester, taken prisoner at the battle of Shrewsbury on the 22nd of July 1403, had his head struck off immediately after. There, too, fell in the fight (though certainly not, as Shakespeare has it, by the hand of Prince Henry) Northumberland's gallant son, Henry Lord Percy, better known as Hotspur. Northumberland himself, who had stayed away from the battle on the pretext of illness—lying "crafty sick" in his "worm-eaten hold" of Warkworth—was pardoned; but, watched and suspected, and knowing that he was so, within two years after he entered into another conspiracy with Mowbray Earl Marshal, and Scrope Archbishop of York; on the defeat of which, and the destruction of his two confederates, he succeeded in making his escape to Scotland. Having ventured back, however, in the beginning of the year 1408, he was, on the 29th of February, fallen upon, as he traversed the country at the head of a small force, by the Sheriff of Yorkshire,

on Bramham Moor, near Haslewood, and there slain. Then was King Richard well avenged. They cut off the hoary head of the dead old man, and it was afterwards elevated on a pole over London Bridge; one of the quarters of his body was set upon one of the city gates; the others were disposed of in the like fashion at Lincoln, Berwick, and Newcastle.

It were vain now to attempt to picture to ourselves the first Earl of Northumberland and his brother otherwise than as they are mirrored to us in the great dramatist's magic page. The men of that time seem stone images in any other history, after his life-like representations; and yet nowhere is the essential truth of history better preserved than it is in these plays of Shakespeare. It is manifest that, in every instance, he strove to produce not more an animated portraiture than a faithful likeness. He evidently believed that it was as much the business of the historic drama as of history itself to present a correct reflection of the reality —to show the very "form and pressure" of the bygone time; and it is one of the marvels of his art that, in everything he has written, there should be found such a perfect combination of the aërial with the substantial,— that the spirit of invention should be always guided, yet never restrained, by so much study and knowledge. The honesty of nature which this indicates makes us love the man almost as much as we admire the poet. He has not, as another might have done, abused his godlike powers. We feel that we are safe in his hands; he will not pervert either history, or morality, or anything else; he will put a new life into the truth, but

he will not gild a lie. Even the artistic value of his historical delineations has been augmented in an unspeakable degree through the operation of this principle of faithfulness and fairness by which they are all inspired; it has given them a vital force, pervading them in every part, which they never could otherwise have had. We may accept the peculiar power they are found to exercise over us as an assurance of the confidence that may be safely placed in them. They have the right divine of all true things. There is nothing flimsy or inefficient about them, because there is nothing false. Every line, every touch tells, because they possess throughout a real consistency and solidity, such as belongs rather to the creations of nature than to those of fancy.

Take these three Percies—Northumberland, Worcester, and Hotspur; they are each of them as distinctly and completely set before us as if we had actually seen and known them. It is all real life and the light of day; there is nothing about it of the uncertain moonlight of a dream. Of the three, Hotspur stands out from the canvass in the boldest relief. He is the only one of them, indeed, of whose personal peculiarities we have an express delineation:—

> "He was indeed the glass
> Wherein the noble youth did dress themselves:
> He had no legs that practised not his gait;
> And speaking thick, which nature made his blemish,
> Became the accents of the valiant;
> For those that could speak low and tardily
> Would turn their own perfection to abuse,
> To seem like him."

But this is only because his nature, all fire and impulse, expresses itself upon every occasion so instantaneously by look, attitude, and movement. With him the outward and the inward man are the same. The body is merely a manifestation of the soul. Unreflective, impatient, impetuous, equally scornful of concealment and incapable of it, he is soul to the finger-ends,—all light, as much as "the sun in the grey vault of heaven." The representations of his father and his uncle, though in a quieter style, are not less profoundly conceived, nor less powerfully executed. The two brothers are finely discriminated the one from the other. Both, with no want of courage, are men of policy; but Worcester, who "was not so resolved" when he and his brother last spake together immediately before the landing of Bolingbroke, preserves throughout the spirit of deliberation and caution which this beginning indicates. Northumberland, ambitious, restless, and sanguine, has, with all his craft, something of the quick and inflammable temperament of his son. His policy is only a crust that has grown over his nature, which it is far from having destroyed or completely subdued. This is seen in a thousand little touches, as well as in his outbreak of passionate eloquence, almost in the very style and manner of Hotspur himself, when he hears in his castle of Warkworth of the defeat and death of his son and of the royal force that is on its way against himself:—

> "Hence, thou nice crutch!
> A scaly gauntlet now, with joints of steel,
> Must glove this hand . . . . . .

> Now bind my brows with iron ; and approach
> The ruggedest hour that time and spite dare bring
> To frown upon the enraged Northumberland!"

So, instead of being slowly drawn into rebellion like his brother, he is always the first, whether under Richard or Bolingbroke, to feel the public wrongs or his own, and more eager than any one else in blowing the fire of discontent and conspiracy. Again, we see the same disposition of mind hurrying him into the same precipitation and excess in his servility, when it is upon that tack that he is going.

> "Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal
> The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,"

is his well-earned farewell tribute from the unkinged Richard; and hear how he himself at first makes his court to Bolingbroke:—

> "Our fair discourse hath been as sugar,
> Making the hard way sweet and delectable.
> But I bethink me what a weary way
> From Ravenspurg to Cotswold will be found
> In Ross and Willoughby, wanting your company;
> Which, I protest, hath very much beguiled
> The tediousness and process of my travel.
> But theirs is sweetened with the hope to have
> The present benefit which I possess."

Worcester, on the contrary, always guarded and moderate in his language and counsels, is not given to commit himself by his tongue in any circumstances. When he strikes a blow it is in silence; his dark designs have slowly acquired the complete dominion and possession of his own bosom before he whispers

them to any other. "Ill spirited Worcester," is King Henry's concluding apostrophe to him. "Worcester," he had addressed him before he and his friends rose in arms,

> "get thee gone, for I do see
> Danger and disobedience in thine eye."

Yet this is only the language of the jealous and exasperated King. The dramatist cannot himself be said to take part against either Worcester or Northumberland. The fairness of his representation is admirable. The most equal justice is dispensed to both sides. It is, throughout, such a representation as scarcely any one of the persons who figure in it could have found fault with or objected to. No good that can be said of any of them, nothing that can be urged for the cause of either king or subject, is kept back. In these dramas, they meet and contend as they did on the stage of life, each with all his natural strength, whether of force, stratagem, or persuasion. The treatment of one and all of them by the dramatist is in all respects considerate and noble, and in the highest spirit of his art.

Northumberland's first wife, Margaret Nevil, daughter of Ralph Lord Nevil of Raby, was the mother of his son Henry, and of two younger sons. He married her in 1358, when she was only seventeen. But she was not the Lady Northumberland who appears in the Second Part of Shakespeare's *Henry the Fourth;* for she died in 1372, five years before her husband was made an earl. If there was any Countess of Northumberland alive in 1405, when the Earl joined the conspiracy of

Mowbray and Scrope, it would be Maud, daughter of Thomas de Lucy Lord Lucy, and widow of Gilbert de Umfraville Earl of Angus, whom he married about 1385, and whom he appears to have also survived. By this lady, who was a great heiress, he had no issue; but it is in consequence of this marriage that the Lucy arms, three argent or white luces on a red field, are quartered in the Percy shield with the lion of Hainault. Shakespeare makes Hotspur of the same age with Prince Henry. "Being no more in debt to years than thou," are the terms the King uses in speaking of him to his son; and Hotspur, at his first meeting with Bolingbroke, about two years before this, describes himself as still "tender, raw, and young," or at least so characterises the service which he offers, and which, he says, "elder days shall ripen." It was necessary for the poet's purpose that he should disregard the literal fact in a particular having nothing to do with the spirit of the story; but the truth is, that Henry Percy was four-and-twenty years older than Henry of Monmouth—the one having been born in 1364, the other not till 1388. At the date of the dethronement of King Richard, Hotspur had reached the mature age of thirty-five, instead of being the "boy," and the "young Harry Percy," he is called by his father in introducing him to Bolingbroke; and at that of the battle of Shrewsbury, when he was thirty-nine, Prince Henry was only fifteen. In Shakespeare, the Prince must be understood to be a few years older than he really was, and Percy a good many years younger.

Henry Percy, however, had actually commenced his

career of arms at even an earlier age than Henry of Monmouth. Holinshed relates that he "first spread his banner" under his father at the storming of Berwick in 1378, when he was only fourteen, "doing so valiantly, that he deserved singular commendation." What is still more remarkable, he had a year before this received the honour of knighthood. It was by his knightly title, Sir Henry Percy, that he was commonly known, and not by the title of courtesy which would now be given to him as an earl's eldest son. His *nom de guerre* of *Hotspur* is said to have been first bestowed upon him by the Scots, from the furious heat of his incursions into their country. What Shakespeare says of him, that

> "by his light
> Did all the chivalry of England move
> To do brave acts,"

is only a poetical expansion of the words of one of the old Latin chroniclers, who calls him the patron of all virtue and martial prowess. His two most famous encounters with the Scots were in the battles of Otterbourne, near Elsdon, in Northumberland, and of Homildon, or Humbledown, near Wooler, in the same county. In the former, fought on the 15th of August 1388, while, on the side of the Scots, their commander, James Earl of Douglas, was slain, and the Earl of Murray was mortally wounded, both Hotspur and his younger brother, Ralph Percy, were taken prisoners. Both, however, were soon ransomed. At Homildon, in August 1402, the Scots, under Archibald Earl of Douglas, received a signal overthrow from Hotspur and

his father. Besides Douglas, who had one of his eyes thrust out in the mêlée, several other prisoners of distinction were taken. But the booty proved fatal to the captors. "Send us your prisoners, or you'll hear of it," says stern King Henry, as, turning from Northumberland and his son, he haughtily cuts short their debate. "And if the devil come and roar for them, I will not send them," retorts the infuriated Hotspur, almost before his Majesty is out of hearing. And of that came anon the "bloody field by Shrewsbury," where the hero was beaten down to the earth, "from whence with life he never more sprung up;" and where soon "Harry Percy's spur was cold," that used to be so hot, and two paces were room enough for that hitherto unresting body, over which it was pronounced, as it lay thus shrunk and still, that, when it

> "did contain a spirit,
> A kingdom for it was too small a bound."

Thus darkly upon the house of Percy opened the fifteenth century. Lord Percy had left one son and one daughter, the former, named also Henry, a child of ten years old. Hotspur's wife, his "gentle Kate," as Shakespeare makes him call her, was the daughter of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, and of Philippa Plantagenet, granddaughter of King Edward III. Her name was not Catharine, but Elizabeth. Nor was it her brother who was the lineal heir to the crown, as Shakespeare has it after Holinshed, but her nephew, Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March. That young Earl was in Henry's own keeping at Windsor when the

rebellion of the Percies broke out. Lady Percy's brother, who had been taken prisoner by Glendower, and afterwards married his daughter, and who is called in Shakespeare sometimes the Earl of March and sometimes Lord Mortimer, was Sir Edmund Mortimer, a younger brother also of the deceased Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March. Lady Percy, who was six or seven years younger than her husband, after his death married Thomas Lord Camoys; and all that is farther known of her is, that she was certainly still living in 1418. Very probably she survived her second husband too; for she would be only in her fiftieth or fifty-first year when Lord Camoys died in 1421.

When the old Earl fled to Scotland, in the autumn or winter of 1404, he carried his grandson with him to that country; and there the boy is said to have been immediately placed, along with the Prince of Scotland (afterwards James the First), under the care of Bishop Wardlaw, the founder, a few years after this date, of the University of St. Andrews. The Prince and young Percy could not have been very long together; for James was captured by the English King on his voyage to France early in 1405. Percy, however, it is stated, remained at St. Andrews, and even became a student of the new University, which, although not formally established by Wardlaw till the beginning of the year 1412, had come into actual existence and operation about two years earlier. Meanwhile the ruin of the family had been consummated by the issue of Northumberland's last attempt, and the attainder that of course followed the death of the rebel Earl with

arms in his hand. All his estates had been seized by the crown on his flight three or four years before. The heir of the house of Percy remained in exile for the rest of the reign of Henry IV. But the accession of Henry's magnanimous son, in March 1413, opened to him the prospect or hope of better fortunes. It must have been some time after the commencement of the year 1414 that he married at Berwick the Lady Eleanor Nevil, daughter of Ralph first Earl of Westmoreland, and granddaughter through her mother of King Edward III.; for this lady had been previously either married or betrothed to Robert, son and heir of the attainted Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, and he only died in that year. As Robert Despencer, however, was only fourteen when he died, they probably had never come together. There appears to be no historical, if there be even any traditionary, foundation for the story of Percy winning and carrying off the Lady Eleanor in the manner related by Bishop Percy in his poem entitled *The Hermit of Warkworth*. She was probably a good many years younger than Percy, who in 1414 would be one-and-twenty. This alliance is understood to have mainly contributed to bring about his restoration. The lady's mother, the Countess of Westmoreland, was the half-sister of Henry IV.; and it is said that the new King was earnestly appealed to by his aunt in behalf of her son-in-law, stript of country and all that his ancestors had possessed for no fault of his own. It appears that he was reinvested with the Earldom of Northumberland before the end of the year 1414; he was immediately after replaced in the possession of the family estates;

and in the beginning of the year following Lord Grey of Codnor and Sir John Nevil were despatched to Scotland to bring him back to his native country.

Thus was the ruined house rebuilt. The second Earl of Northumberland took a leading part both in the wars and politics of his time. Immediately upon his return to England, he appears to have accompanied King Henry on his first expedition to France; and he was probably, as well as his father-in-law the Earl of Westmoreland, one of the "happy few," the "band of brothers," who fought at Agincourt, on the memorable 25th of October 1415. Another encounter in which he was engaged many years afterwards on a more obscure stage, though passed over with contempt by history, has nevertheless, if we may rely upon the antiquaries, also been made famous by song; for he is believed to be the Earl Percy of Chevy Chase. The "hunting of the Cheviot," it seems, was a border fight which happened between this second Earl of Northumberland and William Earl of Douglas, at a place called Pepperden, not far from the Cheviot Hills, in 1436. The old minstrel, however, has, whether intentionally or from ignorance, strangely misrepresented many of the circumstances, if it was really the battle of Pepperden that he meant to immortalise. In particular, the English Earl, although he had the worst of the day, certainly was not slain on that occasion. He lived to experience the sharp and bitter taste of the long shower of blood that began to fall upon England after the rule of the House of Lancaster had lasted little more than half a century. The commencement

of the War of the Roses—for all its flowery name, the most murderous war in our history—is traced to a violent contention which broke out in 1452 between two of the Earl of Northumberland's sons, Thomas and Richard Percy, and their mother's brother, Richard Nevil Earl of Salisbury, and which at last grew to such a height that the following year the two parties brought their forces against each other, and had a pitched battle at Staynford Bridge, near York. A few years before this, in 1449, Thomas had been made a peer with the title of Lord Egremont. When the civil war broke out, while the Nevils joined the Duke of York, the Earl of Northumberland and the Percies gathered around the royal standard; and in the course of the next nine or ten years the Earl himself and several of his sons proved their devotion to the Lancastrian cause with their lives. The Earl fell at St. Albans, where swords were first crossed, on the 23rd of May 1455; Lord Egremont, at Northampton, on the 10th of July 1460; his brother, Sir Richard, at Towton, on Palm-Sunday, the 29th of March 1461. Another brother, Sir Ralph, having after the deposition of Henry risen in support of Queen Margaret, was overpowered and slain on Hedgeley Moor, near Chillingham Castle, in Northumberland, by King Edward's general, the Lord Montagu, on the 25th of April 1464. It was this Percy who, as he was expiring of his wounds, thanked God that he had saved the bird in his bosom, meaning his faith and allegiance to King Henry, or rather, perhaps, generally, his conscience and his honour.

Nor were these all. The Earl's eldest surviving son, Henry, who on the death of his father succeeded as third Earl of Northumberland, had the same fate with that father, and with so many of his younger brothers. He fell, along with his brother Richard, in the battle of Towton, where he commanded the vanguard of the Lancastrian army. The chronicler Hall describes him as "in lusty youth, and of frank courage." He was in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He had been married for some ten or twelve years to Eleanor, daughter and sole heir of Richard Poynings, eldest son of Robert Baron Poynings; and upon the death of that Lord in 1446, while he came into possession of the numerous Poynings estates in the counties of Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Somerset, and Kent, he was also summoned to parliament, as was then usual, by the title of the peerage which had descended to his wife. He is the Earl of Northumberland who appears in the Third Part of *King Henry the Sixth.*

His death, which was followed by his attainder, laid the House of Percy a second time in ruins. He had, besides three daughters, left a son, who was immediately apprehended and consigned to the Tower. About three years afterwards, in May 1464, the Earldom of Northumberland was conferred by King Edward upon his partisan John Nevil Lord Montagu, the third son of the Earl of Salisbury, and the younger brother of the Earl of Warwick (the famous King-maker)—the same by whom Sir Ralph Percy had been crushed and slain a few months before in the

encounter on Hedgeley Moor. But in that age of convulsion and confusion the changes were like those in a pantomime. After a few years we have everything reversed. In October 1469, young Henry Percy swears fealty to the White Rose, and is thereupon let out of prison; the next year Nevil resigns his Earldom into the King's hands, and is, by way of compensation, created Marquis of Montagu; the year after that both he and his brother Warwick fall fighting against King Edward at Barnet; in another year the heir of the Percies is once more Earl of Northumberland. He appears, indeed, to have borne that title from the time when it was resigned by Nevil; but it was not till 1472 that he was formally restored, by the reversal of his father's attainder, to the estates and honours of his ancestors. The sequel of the career of this fourth Earl of Northumberland (of the Percy name) was in keeping with its commencement, or, perhaps we ought rather to say, was characteristic of the time. He continued in favour at Court to the end of the reign of Edward IV., and he also held by Richard III. so long as that King kept possession of the throne; Richard gave him the great office of Lord High Chamberlain of England, formerly held by the Veres Earls of Oxford; but Northumberland, although he appeared in obedience to his master's summons at Bosworth on the 22nd of August 1485, stood aloof with his forces, and merely watched the battle as a spectator. "Hereupon," says Hall, "he was incontinently received into favour, and made one of the Council to King Henry VII." He did not live long, however, to enjoy his favour with the

Lancastrian King. Having in the spring of 1489, in his office of Lord Lieutenant of the Northern Counties, to superintend or direct the collection of a subsidy against which the feeling of the country was much excited, he became the object of the sudden suspicion and rage of the people, who, on the 28th of April, breaking into his house at Cock Lodge, near Thirsk, in Yorkshire, murdered him with several of his attendants. The tumult afterwards grew to an insurrection, which the King had to dispatch a military force to put down, and which has obtained a place in history. Bacon throws much of the blame upon the Earl, who, he says, took an imperious tone, "which needed not, save that a harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man." He is lamented and celebrated in a highly encomiastic style by Skelton in a long Elegy, which Bishop Percy has inserted in his *Reliques of English Poetry*.

This fourth Earl of Northumberland had several sons and daughters. His fourth and youngest son, Josceline, was the father of Edward Percy of Beverley, whose second son is believed to be the Thomas Percy of the Gunpowder Plot. The eldest son of the Earl, who was named Henry Algernon, was only in his eleventh year when he succeeded to the title. He is the Earl of Northumberland whose curious Household Book has been printed.* He was distinguished for his liberal patronage of literature and

* Privately under the care of Bishop Percy, and at the expense of the first Duke of Northumberland, in 1770; reprinted and published in 1810, and again in 1827.

learning, as well as for the magnificence of his style of living. Nor was he without practice and reputation in arms. He was one of the royal commanders in the battle with the Cornish insurgents at Blackheath, fought on the 22nd of June 1497; and he was with Henry the Eighth, on the 18th of August 1518, at the engagement with the French near Calais, called the Battle of the Spurs. He died, at the age of forty-nine, in 1527.

The history, it will be perceived, has been losing its old martial colour for the last two generations; the men have changed with the times. The heroic old Percies are the three Barons of Alnwick, and the first three Earls, with the renowned Hotspur, who was son of the first Earl and father of the second. These seven Henries make an uninterrupted succession of military leaders, almost constantly in harness, extending from near the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth. Their period may be said, speaking somewhat loosely, to coincide with what is commonly understood by that of the Edwards and the Henries of our national history—a time of almost incessant war, foreign or domestic, and no doubt often of plenty of suffering as well as of exertion to all classes of the community, but yet one out of the very convulsions and calamities of which much good arose, and which, upon the whole, proved giants' nurture and training for the spirit and strength of the country. It was the season of the reckless and turbulent youth of England, that in which the nation grew from boyhood to manhood. It was then that the foundations of the national

character were laid, that the tendencies for good or for evil were fixed which have made us whatever we have since become.

The fifth Earl of Northumberland had been at most an ornament of the state; his son, the sixth Earl, also named Henry Algernon, was not even that. He is the Lord Percy who figures in the story of poor Anne Boleyn. When she returned, at the age of fifteen, in 1522, from her seven years' residence at the court of France, Percy (who was probably her senior by seven or eight years, for he was knighted in 1519) was a member of the household of Cardinal Wolsey, according to the custom which then prevailed of the sons and heirs even of the highest nobility becoming, for a time, retainers of the great prelates and ministers of state. The graces of person with which nature had adorned the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn had been heightened and set off by her French education with every elegant accomplishment; and it is probable that, from the first moment when she caught his eye in the train of Queen Catherine, she made an impression upon King Henry's susceptible temperament. It appears that she had been sent for home that she might be married to the son of Sir Pierce Butler. His Majesty's interference, perhaps, prevented that alliance too, as we are assured by Lord Herbert it afterwards prevented her marriage with the son of the Earl of Northumberland. However the King might secretly take notice of her, this historian relates, Lord Percy was certainly before him in professing his affection; insomuch that, whenever he repaired to Court in the train of the Cardinal (whom he attended

in ordinary), "his addresses were continually to her." In this way he at length obtained what Herbert calls "her good will to marriage." "So that," proceeds the noble historian, in his curiously precise style, "in what kind soever the King's affection might manifest itself, neither was she so satisfied of it as to think fit to relinquish this advantageous offer, nor the Lord Percy aware that he was opposed by so puissant a rival. But this treaty (which proceeded to little less than a contract) coming at last to our King's ears, the danger he found himself in of losing a beauty he had contemplated so long, that it was become his dearest object, made him resolve to acquaint the Cardinal with his love to her; wishing him also to dissuade the Lord Percy from it. The forward Cardinal hereupon both violently dehorts the Lord Percy from the gentlewoman, and useth all arts to insinuate himself into her good opinion and favour. But Mrs. Boleyn, whether she were ignorant as yet how much the King loved her, or, howsoever, had rather be that Lord's wife than a King's mistress, took very ill of the Cardinal this his unseasonable interruption of her marriage. The Cardinal, also, fearing the revenges of that sex, and, for the rest, being unwilling to come to sharper terms with the Lord Percy than he had already used, desires the King to write to the Earl of Northumberland to come up; alleging there was no such way to preserve the gentlewoman for himself, and together [that is, at the same time] to conceal his love, as to use a cunning dissuasion of the marriage to the Earl, whereby also he might be induced to interpose his fatherly authority for dissolving of the match."

The end was, that Northumberland so handled his son, "that fear of displeasing his father became at length the predominant passion" with the young man; "so that it neither served him to declare the merits of the gentlewoman, nor to tell his father that his promise before witnesses had engaged him farther than that he knew well how to come off; the apprehension of the King's displeasure having wrought that impression in the Earl, that he would take no denial or excuse on his son's part till he had made him renounce all his pretences to her." To make more sure, the Earl did not rest till he had got his son to consent to marry another lady,—Mary, daughter of George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury. The marriage appears to have taken place about the end of 1523, or beginning of the following year.*

Herbert, who says that this is the truest relation he had been able to gather out of the records and manuscripts relating to the affair that had come into his hands, attributes the hatred with which Anne Boleyn pursued Wolsey, till she had procured his ruin, to his conduct on this occasion.† One might have expected that Lord Percy too should evince some sense of injury; but he was not of a flaming spirit. He was, however, the individual who, being now Earl of Northumberland, and Warden of the Marches, was, in November 1530, sent down to arrest Wolsey at Cawood Castle, near York; "wherein," says Lord Herbert, "he used that diligence and secrecy, that he had placed his guards in the hall before any escaped to advertise the Cardinal thereof; neither did he, at the Earl's coming up stairs, receive him in other

* *Lingard*, VI. 112. † *Life of Henry VIII.* 122.

terms than those of a guest, till, entering into a private chamber together, the Earl, in a low and troubled voice, arrested him of high treason."* The business, then, may be said to have been rather cleverly than heroically managed. Wolsey, after all, chose to surrender himself, not to the Earl, but to Sir Walter Welsh, or Walsh, who was with him. "Which," says Herbert, "whether he did out of stubbornness to the Earl, who had been heretofore educated in his house, or out of despite to Mrs. Anne Boleyn, who, he might conceive, had put this affront upon him, in finding means to employ her ancient suitor to take revenge in both their names, doth not appear to me by my author."

On the fall of Queen Anne, the Earl of Northumberland was brought into question in regard to how far their acquaintance had gone twelve or thirteen years before. On the 13th of May 1536, while the poor Queen lay in the Tower awaiting execution, he wrote in great alarm from Newington Green to Secretary Cromwell, in consequence of an intimation that had been brought to him that she was supposed to have been actually contracted to him before her marriage with the King. He had, he said, not only been heretofore examined as to this matter upon his oath before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, but had also "received the blessed sacrament upon the same before the Duke of Norfolk and other the King's Highness' Council learned in the spiritual law;" "assuring you, Mr. Secretary," he adds, "by the said oath and blessed body, which before I received, and hereafter intend to

* *Life of Henry VIII.* 147.

receive, that the same may be my damnation if ever there were any contract, or promise of marriage, between her and me." His marriage with the daughter of Lord Shrewsbury turned out an entire failure. The first child that came into the world was born dead, and none of the others survived; no affection seems to have ever grown up between them; and at last they separated. The latter years of the Earl's life were oppressed by a load of calamities. To his domestic misery were added both broken health and embarrassed circumstances; for he had managed to get so encumbered with debts as to be obliged to dispose of many of his estates, especially of all those in the county of Kent which had descended to him from the old Lords Poynings, and to dispossess himself of the rest by grants and long leases to enable him to meet his immediate necessities. He came to be remembered after his death by the name of *Henry the Unthrifty*. He survived Anne Boleyn little more than a year. In June 1537, his next younger brother, Sir Thomas Percy, was hanged at Tyburn, along with several other gentlemen of his party, for having been concerned in the Popish insurrection called the Pilgrimage of Grace; and the Earl died, at his house in Hackney, near London, on the last day of the same month.

With this sixth Earl of Northumberland the Earldom was regarded as having expired. Sir Thomas Percy had left two sons, but the attainder and corruption of blood, operated by his treason, barred them from the succession; and it seems to have been held, that that attainder likewise excluded a second brother of the late

Earl, Sir Ingelram Percy, who was still in existence, and would unquestionably have become seventh Earl of Northumberland, according to the rules and principles now established. But, at any rate, he also died before the end of the following year, 1538, leaving no legitimate issue. Thus a space of about eighteen months swept away the three brothers; and within little more than ten years from the death of the splendid and prosperous Earl, their father, the greatness of his ancient and illustrious house, which presented so imposing an appearance, and seemed to stand on so broad and firm a foundation, is all evaporated; his honours are extinguished, his lineage is at an end, or exists only in a remnant upon which the law has put its brand and its ban; his lands and castles are part of them squandered away, and the rest left without an heir.

In the desolation that the death and attainder of his brother had spread around him, the late Earl, acting, it is understood, upon the advice of some eminent lawyers, had in his last moments executed a will, by which he bequeathed all his estates to the King. It was thought that they were in this way more likely to be preserved for his heirs, if the family should ever recover the favour of the crown.

The house of Percy, however, thus for the third time thrown to the ground, obtained no re-establishment in the remaining ten years or thereby that the reign of Henry VIII. lasted. And in the next reign the family had the mortification to see the all-appropriating Dudley Earl of Warwick assume to himself for his crowning title that of Duke of Northumberland; he

was so created in October 1551. Whether or no he was at the same time put in possession of the Percy estates, it could not be expected that they would long escape his rapacity. He was forthwith constituted Warden of the Northern Marches, an office which was looked upon as attached almost of right to those domains. But within two years Dudley was brought to the block as a traitor, and his Dukedom with all his other honours forfeited. Yet it was not till nearly six years after this, or about twenty years after the death of the last Percy Earl of Northumberland, that the title was restored to the family to which it had formerly belonged.

Thomas, the elder of the two sons of Sir Thomas Percy, was a boy of eleven years of age at the time of his father's death. How he was brought up, or what means of existence he and his brother had, we are not informed: he had a right to expect that he should be taken into favour and employment when the old religion, for which his father had died, recovered its supremacy on the accession of Mary; but her short reign, nevertheless, had nearly slipped away without his fair claims being recognised. If it had there would probably have been an end for ever of the House of Percy. At last, when Thomas Stafford (son of Lord Stafford) landed in the spring of 1557 at the head of a force from France, and seized Scarborough Castle, this Sir Thomas Percy, Knight, as he was then styled, marched against him, recovered the castle, and made all the rebels in it prisoners; upon which he was immediately, as the patent, dated the 30th of April, expressed it, "in consideration of his noble descent,

constancy, virtue, and valour in deeds of arms, and other shining qualifications," made a peer by the titles of Baron Percy of Cockermouth and Petworth, Baron Poynings, Lucy, Bryan, and Fitzpayne, and the day following further advanced to be Earl of Northumberland; with remainder of all these several honours, failing his issue male, to his younger brother Henry. At the same time all the lands of his ancestors were restored to him that still remained in the possession of the crown.

But in little more than a twelvemonth Protestantism came back with Elizabeth, and the Percies were once more on the wrong side. The escape of the House from a new overthrow, which in all likelihood would have been a final one, was very narrow. This seventh Earl of Northumberland is the Earl who, holding fast by the old faith of his family, in concert with Charles Nevil, sixth Earl of Westmoreland, got up the Roman Catholic insurrection of 1569, commonly called the Northern Rebellion. His Protestant contemporaries have, of course, little good to say of him. Camden describes him as characterised at once by softness of nature and strong religious bigotry. He and his friend Westmoreland are understood to be the Blandamour and Paridel of the *Fairy Queen*. The former, whom, with an evident allusion to his famous ancestor, he designates in one place "the hotspur youth," Spenser delineates, in first presenting him gaily riding along, the enamoured and delighted companion of the witch Duessa, as

> "a jolly youthful knight,
> That bore great sway in arms and chivalry."

He admits that "he was indeed a man of mickle might," but adds, that his name, Blandamour, sufficiently expressed "his fickle mind full of inconstancy." Afterwards, in various misadventures with Britomart, Sir Scudamore, and others, he is made to cut rather a ridiculous figure, though never to the extent of impeaching his manhood or personal courage; till at last, at the trial of Duessa, here standing for the Queen of Scots, we have it told how she

> "had her counsels false conspired
> With faithless Blandamour and Paridel,
> Both two her paramours, both by her hired,
> And both with hope of shadows vain inspired,"

practising with them to deprive Mercilla (or Elizabeth) of her crown, and how

> "through high heaven's grace, which favours not
> The wicked drifts of traitorous designs
> 'Gainst loyal princes, all this cursed plot,
> Ere proof it took, discovered was betimes,
> And the actors won the meed meet for their crimes."

When the rebel force broke up, which it did as soon as it was about to be attacked, although not till it had ranged at will through the northern counties for about a month, the two Earls made their escape to Scotland. There Northumberland took refuge with one of the Border Chieftains, Hector Armstrong, of Harlow, a man who had been under great obligations to him, and upon whose oath not to betray him he thought that he could safely rely. After keeping him for two or three weeks, however, Armstrong consented to give him up to the Regent Murray for a sum of money.

The bribe, it is said, brought with it both universal infamy and poverty. "To take Hector's cloak," became a proverb for betraying a man's friend. "Hector of th' Arlow's head," writes Constable, a spy, describing an evening he spent in company with a party of the Borderers immediately after the transaction, "was wished to be eaten among us at supper."* Murray, who was himself assassinated only a few days after getting hold of his prize, immediately consigned the Earl to the castle of Lochleven, in Kinross-shire, the same prison from which Mary Stuart had recently made her escape, and there he remained shut up for between two and three years. At last, in July 1572, he was, for a large sum, delivered up to Lord Hunsdon, the governor of Berwick, by the Earl of Morton, soon after this elected Regent, who, when he was himself a fugitive for rebellion from his native country about six years before, and had sought safety beyond the Border, had owed his support in great part to the English Earl's friendship and bounty. Northumberland, who had been attainted and outlawed on the suppression of his rebellion, was immediately sent forward to York, and there, on the 22nd of August, he had his head struck off, instead of being hanged, as his father had been five-and-thirty years before.

His younger brother, Henry, had a still more melancholy fate. To him the earldom now passed, his right under the limitation and entail with which the dignity had been granted being of course unaffected by the attainder of the last possessor, which operated only to

* *Sadler, State Papers*, II. 118.

the corruption of the blood of his own posterity. The history of the eighth Earl of Northumberland presents a singular succession of questionable passages. It is doubtful whether he was not a party to the northern rebellion as well as his brother. He affected to arm his retainers in support of the government, but it is asserted that he at last confessed his confederacy with the rebels, and was glad to accept of the Queen's pardon, on condition of paying a fine of five thousand pounds. Some years afterwards he made an offer of his services to the Queen of Scots, but it is doubtful whether this was not done in collusion with Burghley. For a long time it seems to have been doubtful to which religion he belonged, or, rather, he seems to have allowed himself to be taken for a Protestant while he was really, as he ultimately avowed, a Catholic. Finally, it is doubtful in what way he died. In the early part of the year 1584 he was apprehended, and thrown into the Tower on suspicion of having been engaged in the conspiracy for the liberation of Mary Stuart, for which Francis Throgmorton suffered. He was kept in close confinement for more than a year without being brought to trial; and then, on the night of the 20th of June 1585, he was found dead in his bed, shot through the left breast with three bullets, his chamber-door being barred on the inside. A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of *felo de se;* and all the circumstances seem to make it probable that his death was the act of his own hand. It is supposed that, knowing his guilt, and that the proofs of it in the hands of the government were conclusive, he destroyed himself to escape an attainder,

and the consequent ruin of his family. Yet there were strong suspicions that he had been murdered. On the morning of the day of his death, it seems, in consequence of an order sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, a servant of Sir Christopher Hatton's had been substituted for his usual keeper, and it was said that this man had dispatched him by direction of Hatton. What special motive Hatton might have for incurring the guilt and danger of so great a crime does not appear. Camden, who notices this version of the matter, describes the Earl as having been "a man of a lively and active spirit and courage;" and observes, that "certainly many good men were much affected that so great a person died so miserable and lamentable a death; as well because men naturally favour nobility, as that he had acquired singular commendation for his valour."

Such were the predecessors and progenitors of Henry ninth Earl of Northumberland, the husband of Lady Dorothy Devereux, who was the eldest son of the last-mentioned Earl. It is a history of much work done, of one sort and another, that of these old Percies. Counting from the first Earl, we have above a century filled by five of them, in regular succession from father to son, not one of whom died in his bed. The first Earl was slain at Bramham Moor, his eldest son (Hotspur) at Shrewsbury, the second Earl (Hotspur's son) at St. Alban's, the third at Towton, the fourth lost his life in a popular tumult. These five violent extinctions of so many heads of the house all happened within a space of about eighty years; the first of them

in 1408, the last in 1489. It seemed the order of nature that a Percy should always die a bloody death. And these men may be said to have all lived, as well as died, in harness; they and their predecessors for at least three more generations, comprehending above another century, had stood pillars of the state, and been ever foremost in one or other department of the public service. It is very remarkable, however, that the four who were slain in battle all fell fighting on the side which was at the moment the wrong or the losing one. And the same unhappy destiny continued to pursue the race after they came to die in another fashion than with arms in their hands. About half a century passes, divided between the magnificent prosperity of the fifth and the inglorious wretchedness of the sixth Earl; and then within another term of about the same length are recorded three more violent deaths, that of the father of the seventh Earl, that of the seventh Earl himself, and that of the eighth Earl, all three charged with rebellion or treason. Thus in the two centuries we have only two Earls who died in the ordinary course of nature, and no fewer than eight heads of the house suddenly and violently cut off,—four of them in battle, two on the scaffold, the other two lawlessly murdered. Nothing can set before us in a more striking way the convulsed or troubled condition of English society throughout those two hundred years. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries stand by themselves, and make a cycle in our history. The time between the dethronement of Richard II. and the accession of James I., between the era of the Plantagenets and that of the Stuarts, formed

a transition period from one state of things to another, both in the social and in the political constitution of the country. The Lancastrian and Tudor domination was something superinduced over the worn-out fabric of our original institutions, an interruption of the natural course of events, a new and foreign element thrown into our national system. It served the purpose of stirring the half-exhausted mass into new life. But it necessarily operated by originating and maintaining a process of fermentation, which, so long as it lasted, kept everything in what may be called an abnormal or unnatural condition. In the height of its activity law and order were utterly overthrown; and even in its stage of subsidence there continued to prevail a nearly complete eclipse of all constitutional security and freedom, the necessary consequence of the danger of renewed convulsion that still existed, and of the constant state of apprehension, suspicion, and uneasiness in which the government, and it may be said, the community in general, were thereby kept. It was not till after the accession of the Stuarts that Englishmen began to remember again that they had, or once had had, a constitution, or ceased to be afraid even to talk or think of their ancient liberties.*

* The facts in this sketch are mostly taken from the elaborate article on the Percies in the Fifth (1779) edition of *Collins's Peerage* (Vol. II. pp. 280—490). It is an admirable example of the luminous treatment of a genealogical subject. I should conjecture that it had been drawn up by Bishop Percy.

EARL HENRY THE WIZARD.

THERE are still two or three passages in the life, and some points in the character, of Henry the ninth Earl of Northumberland which deserve to detain us for a few pages. He is by far the richest or most curious subject among the later possessors of the title.

With all his weaknesses, there was evidently much good in him, or much, at least, that might have turned to good in happier circumstances. His letters, written during his long imprisonment, some portions of which have been quoted, evince both strong and right feeling. They do not express either a dull nature or a merely selfish one. The passionate eloquence to which they occasionally rise is the fire of a high spirit. The courage and composure, too, scorning all useless complaint on his own account, with which he bears what is laid upon him, is at once touching and respectable. He was far superior to the ordinary man of rank, either of his own age or of ours. He had a considerable reputation among his contemporaries both for natural talent and for the extent of his acquirements; and, although a little knowledge would suffice to dazzle people's eyes in a person of his station, he seems to have had a real taste for some departments of science, and to have been

actuated by other motives than vanity in his liberal patronage of learned and ingenious men. He professed a regard for all the mathematical and natural sciences; but, perhaps, his taste was more for the mysteries and curiosities than for the hard work of science. He was fond of such studies as alchemy and astrology. Hence he came to be known by the name of *Henry the Wizard*. And Anthony Wood tells us that, while he lay in the Tower, the three mathematicians Thomas Hariot, Robert Hues, and Walter Warner were his constant companions, and were called the Earl of Northumberland's *Three Magi*. Wood expresses himself as if they had almost lived in the Tower; they had a table, he says, at the charge of the Earl, who constantly conversed with them. Other "Atlantes of the mathematic world," with whom he surrounded himself, were the Reverend Nathaniel Torporley, Nicholas Hill, Thomas Allen, and the famous John Dee, who professed himself almost as much a student of magic as of mathematics. Several of these persons were taken into the Earl's retinue, as it is expressed, and lived in his family; on some he conferred pensions or salaries; Hariot's, which was the largest, was £120 a year.

The mixed nature of the man, never great and yet never all littleness, still showing something that one likes and almost respects even when most fantastic and absurd, is well seen in an affair which makes one of the most notable chapters in his history, his quarrel with Sir Francis Vere. Sir Francis, whom his discerning royal mistress called her worthiest captain, probably deserves to be accounted, upon the whole, the first

military character of the later portion of Elizabeth's reign. He commanded at Ostend when it was besieged by the Spaniards in the summer of 1601; and it was there that he was unlucky enough to give offence to Northumberland, who was present in the town as an amateur soldier. He had not, the Earl conceived, treated him with proper respect, and had besides done him divers wrongs, "as by the report of sundry men of good credit he was informed." The Earl returned to England towards the end of 1601; Sir Francis came over on a mission from the States early in the following year. They met at Richmond, where the court then was, on the 13th of April; when the Earl, as he passed by Sir Francis, asked him, in a low voice, if he went to London that night. Sir Francis replied, he knew not; his going, in fact, depended upon his getting his business dispatched at court; and, on Northumberland passing on and saying nothing, he followed him, and inquired, if he would command him any service should he go to London. To this his lordship gave no answer; and nothing more passed till on Saturday, the 24th of April, about six o'clock in the evening, as Sir Francis was sitting in his chamber in Aldersgate-street, London, a Captain Whitlock presented himself, and put into his hands a letter from the Earl. It was a sort of half challenge. "You love to take the air," wrote his lordship, "and to ride abroad. Appoint, therefore, a place and time to your liking, that I may meet you. Bring you a friend with you; I will be accompanied with another, that shall bear witness of the things I will lay to your charge. If you satisfy me, we will

return good friends; if not, we shall do as God shall put in our minds." Vere declined answering this strange application at the moment, but on the Sunday morning he sent Captain Ogle, his Lieutenant-Colonel, to the Earl, with a written reply, in which he said, referring to his lordship's proposal:— "The manner of the meeting, in my opinion, is not the best; in regard that truth delivered where swords might be drawn is subject to hard construction, which I desire to avoid. Your lordship shall therefore be pleased to nominate some fit place for communication, whither I will repair with much willingness to clear myself of having given your honour the first cause of offence, for truth's sake, for the respect of your greatness required, and for that I despise private combating, especially at this time that I am engaged in so great and important an action, as your lordship knoweth." The Earl has left us his own account of what took place when Ogle came to him. He declared at once that he would receive no letter from Sir Francis, but only a direct answer by word of mouth. Some conversation ensued; after which, "Captain Ogle," the Earl's narrative proceeds, "being upon his departure, offered to deliver his letter the second time, saying he knew not how to acquit himself of his duty towards Sir Francis Vere if he did not deliver it according as he gave him in charge. The Earl of Northumberland asked him, whether he bade him leave the letter in his chamber if in case he would not receive it? He answered, Yes, that he bade him expressly leave it. The Earl of Northumberland bade

him lay it down upon the table; which he had no sooner done, but, the said Earl stepping to his sword that was hanging upon the wall, he drew it half out, and bade Captain Ogle carry back the letter, saying, with his hand upon his sword, 'This is sufficient for your discharge of duty towards Sir Francis.'" The captain on this took up the letter and went away. When he had got down stairs, however, and was in the street, the Earl made him be called again into his presence, and desired him to inform Sir Francis that he staid in London only to have his answer. Then "Captain Ogle," it is related, "made yet the third time an offer to deliver Sir Francis Vere's letter. The Earl bade him he should not offer it any more, unless he had a fantasy that they two should have a thrust together. And thus Captain Ogle parted with the Earl of Northumberland the Sunday morning." He was sent again by Sir Francis with a pacific proposal after dinner; but with no better success. In the evening he came once more, and declared that Sir Francis thought it not reasonable to satisfy his lordship after the manner he required; and therefore he would not do it, but desired to have under the Earl's hand the particulars in which he conceived himself to be aggrieved. "The Earl of Northumberland," his own statement goes on, "replied, that to write would be tedious, and against his promise and his letter; and that he would not make his wrongs known unless he might be assured of satisfaction, either by word or sword, in such place as was fit for a nobleman that professed arms to receive it in." For the present, he

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desired Ogle to tell Sir Francis, "how by this refusal he was thoroughly persuaded he had done him those wrongs which he meant to lay to his charge; and that he would lay up this injurious dealing in his heart, and right himself thereafter as he shall think fit." After a few days her Majesty received notice of what had passed; upon which she immediately sent her commands to the Earl "to forbear any action against Sir Francis Vere, at that instant employed in her service." So his lordship was obliged to content himself with protesting "that Sir Francis Vere was a knave and coward, that, in flearing and gearing like a common buffoon, would wrong men of all conditions, and had neither the honesty nor the courage to satisfy any;" and with publishing his history of the affair in English, French, and Italian. Sir Francis, on the point of returning to the Low Countries, had only time to respond by a short note, in which, declaring that the Earl's conduct compelled him to set aside all respect to his person, he told him that he was "a most lying and unworthy lord," and added; "You are bound by her Majesty's commandment not to assail me, and I, by the business committed to me, not to seek you. When you shall be freer, as God shall make us meet, I will maintain it with my sword."* According to Lord Henry Howard, Northumberland's conduct in this business was universally disapproved of. "Both court and town," he says, "exclaims against his indiscretion for challenging a great commander of the state at such time as, without breach of duty, he could not

* *Collins*, II. 409—418.

nor might not answer him." * Of discretion certainly there was wonderfully little in any part of the Earl's proceeding; but he probably did not hold that that was the better part of valour, and it could not be denied that, however curiously he might be thought to have selected the time and the circumstances, he had at least insulted one of the most distinguished military men of the age in the boldest possible style. The matter might have ended more disastrously, and he was lucky in getting off as he did.

By this date the Earl was deep in his confederacy with Raleigh and Cobham. We first hear of him as being perpetually at court, "and familiar with Sir Walter Raleigh at cards," in Rowland White's letter of the 12th of January 1600, in which he mentions the Countess's complaints to the Queen of her limited means.† It was an intimacy out of which no good could come; the slight and facile Northumberland in the hands of such a man as Raleigh could only be what the well-cut goose-quill is to the ready writer. It was not, however, till after his return from the Netherlands, in the latter part of the year 1601, that he became one of the members of what Lord Henry Howard calls "the diabolical triplicity," which met, as he tells us, every day at Durham House. Durham House, originally the town palace of the Bishops of Durham, stood on the portion of the bank of the Thames now covered by the Adelphi Buildings, and was at this time the residence of Raleigh, to whom it had been given by Queen Elizabeth. Writing to Bruce in December 1601,

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 70.

† *See ante*, p. 40.

Lord Henry describes Northumberland as having completely given himself up to his two new associates, and as "now, by their illusions and his own giddiness, a sworn enemy to King James." He speaks of having got his information from a person whom the credulous Earl trusted as he did his own soul; "for such a leaking sieve," remarks my Lord Henry, in his ambitious way of expressing himself, "did never water the wild gardens of Hesperides." The other two, however, he goes on to intimate, soon found out what a fool they had to deal with, and "that it was not possible to secret anything that Northumberland did once come to understand." *

Other notices of the Earl that occur in subsequent letters are all in the same contemptuous strain. Northumberland's womanish incontinence of talk, and inability to keep either other people's counsel or his own, especially moved the spleen of the deep and dark Lord Henry. Writing to Bruce in April 1602, he expresses his disbelief of a profession which the Earl was then making, that he was acting without the knowledge of his two friends, on the ground of "the weakness of his mind in containing any trust." He declares, too, that, if the report of his own officers may be relied upon, he has no strength or following in the country; both the better and the worse would abandon him in any attempt he might make to take a leading part. He had of late, greatly to Lord Henry's annoyance, been paying court to King James with much vaunting of services which he would be prepared

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 32—39.

to render in securing his accession to the English throne. "I hope," says Lord Henry, "you shall see matters carried in so good a sort, as the only way to save his throat from cutting will be to keep in the best company."* A few days later he writes; "This man is beloved of none, followed by none, trusted by no one nobleman or gentleman of quality within the land beside his faction, no not by the gentlemen or peasants of his own country, in respect of his vexation and sport, which you may know by your next neighbours [meaning the English of the Border], and [which] the Queen repeated one month since when she was moved in his behalf for a regiment, saying that Raleigh had made him as odious as himself because he would not be singular, and such were not to be employed by princes of sound policy. There is no secret which he revealeth not to all his own men." In addressing himself to the Scottish King he had been actuated, Lord Henry maintains, by two motives;—the one "that he might have a kind of tack upon his complices," Raleigh and Cobham; the other "his anger and vexation at the Queen's deep hatred and daily invectives; for, finding his hopes in the present forlorn, which is a mortal wound to a mind that is ambitious, he seeks to bind upon the future, finding Mountjoy and Southampton planted, against whom his practices work everlastingly."† Nobody, in short, according to Lord Henry, could be more utterly insignificant than was the Earl, both in the country and at court. The court, he writes to the Earl of Marr in the beginning of

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 66, 67. † *Id.* 107—109.

September, was then perfectly quiet, and had been without disturbance ever since Cobham had been compelled to withdraw himself by sickness, and Raleigh by command; "for, though Northumberland," he adds, "to maintain life in the party, were directed by them to attend the Progress, yet his head is so shallow, and his friends are so few, as he was not able to make good the first point of their project, which was to give intelligence, much less to carry the sovereign. Being weary of ill lodgings in respect of his patched body, he made a sudden retreat, and now means to go down to visit his Damon Raleigh."* Raleigh had gone to Dorsetshire.

Let not the reader, however, forget who it is by whom Northumberland is thus depicted and spoken of. Lord Henry Howard, the Earl of Northampton of the Overbury tragedy, has, like other great dissemblers, his moments when he is off his guard, and he has in a single sentence of one of these letters sufficiently revealed his own system of moral philosophy. "We were never so quiet and secure," he observes, describing the state of things in the end of April 1602, "neither was the world ever, both within and without, more finely cozened, which proves that both honest men and good workmen have the cause in handling."† An honest man, of course, was with him nothing more than a person of his own way of thinking; that was the common style of the time; but even for such honesty he had no respect or regard if it was not accompanied with a practised dexterity in hoodwinking and cheating the world. Northumberland, therefore,

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 229.

† *Id.* 74.

might have been a much worse character than he was, and not have at all offended my Lord Henry's moral sensibilities, if he had not been so weak a one. With some cleverness, he had evidently neither much judgment, nor any real moral strength and stability whether for good or evil. As a politician, his show and plausibility bore him on, and made an impression, up to a certain point; but, whenever matters became critical or complicated, such a feather of a man was sure to prove wholly useless and helpless.

Northumberland's, however, was one of those natures, weak rather than positively vicious, which adversity commonly improves,—which it does not fret and exasperate, but mellows and sobers down. When the extinguishing calamity of his imprisonment fell upon him he was in the vigour of life; he had only reached his forty-second year; when he was let out he was fifty-seven. A cruel gash it was, to be made in the brief span of mortal existence. He was released from the Tower, Camden records, on the 18th of July 1621, with the discharge of the great guns of the fortress. Arthur Wilson's account is, that he owed his deliverance to the influence and importunities of Hay Viscount Doncaster (better known under his later title of Earl of Carlisle), who had, about four years before, without his consent married his youngest daughter, and sought in this way to overcome the dislike of his father-in-law; in which object, however, he had, in the first instance at least, little success, if we may believe our author, for "the old Earl," it seems, "would hardly be drawn to take a release from his hand." This, like others of

Wilson's stories, is possibly a very blundering version of the facts. Northumberland's liberation seems to have been a popular measure, and was probably part of the same system of policy which had led the court a few months before to summon the parliament that quashed Mompesson's patents and effected the destruction of Bacon. Hence the éclat given to the event by the firing of the Tower guns. It appears that Northumberland was now believed to have become suddenly a first favourite at court; after a few months a report arose that he was to be made a Duke.*

One characteristic rebound which his vanity, or ambition of distinction, made after its long restraint, was very excusable, or rather was creditable to him as *giving* proof of the elasticity of his nature, and of the life and health of heart that still survived in him. "The stout old Earl," says Wilson, "when he was got loose, hearing that the great favourite, Buckingham, was drawn about with a coach and six horses (which was wondered at then as a novelty, and imputed to him as a mastering pride), thought, if Buckingham had six, he might very well have eight in his coach, with which he rode through the city of London to the Bath, to the vulgar talk and admiration." It had been found necessary, according to Wilson, to persuade him that his health required a visit to Bath, to induce him to avail himself of his son-in-law's offered mediation in procuring his release, or to accept his respects, that is, to make up matters with Hay.

At all events they became very good friends. Hay was

* *Yonge's Diary*, 45.

in the habit of visiting his father-in-law at Petworth, where the old Earl took up his residence after his return from Bath. He survived till the 5th of November 1632, the anniversary of the day which seven-and-twenty years before had proved so fatal to him. "The Earl of Northumberland died at Petworth on Monday night last, about ten of the clock," a news-writer of the day, George Gresley, reports on the 7th to Sir Thomas Puckering, in Warwickshire, from Essex House, London.* His epitaph at Petworth makes him to have reached the age of seventy; but he was only sixty-eight.†

On the whole, Earl Henry the Wizard cannot be quoted as an example either of a very wise or a very fortunate career. His history is rather one of great advantages thrown away, or which at least escaped from his hands and produced nothing. Nature and fortune appeared to join to make him great; he possessed superior talents and accomplishments, as well as rank and wealth; he occupied his eminent station for nearly half a century; he had partaken at various times both of court and of popular favour; he enjoyed the intimacy and commanded the services of some of the ablest men of his age; yet his life may be pronounced to have been a failure. No one of its promises was realised; he missed every kind of public as well as of private and domestic prosperity; as he broke with his wife and lived apparently in no great harmony with his daughters, whom he said he had difficulty in loving, and one of whom at least married

* *Harl. MS.* 7000.

† *See Collins*, (edit. of 1779) II. 406, 407, 408, 435.

in defiance of his wish and command (as did also his eldest son), so he succeeded neither in the court nor the camp, neither as a soldier nor as a politician. Nor, with all his reputation as a lover and patron of learning and science, did he actually achieve anything in that field either. At the end of his days, in short, with all his opportunities, he was much where he had been fifty years before, except only that he had such experience as comes of fighting a battle or playing a game and being beaten at all points. It is true that he was not in every respect fairly dealt with; but neither ill usage nor ill luck will account for all his want of success. Raleigh, too, was kept caged in the Tower for many years; and during his imprisonment he wrote his *History of the World,* making those years, for enduring result, the most productive of his life. It may be doubted if Northumberland's more studious hours within the same walls ever resulted in anything much higher or more useful than the casting of a nativity. His intellectual qualifications, in truth, did not amount to true learning and ability; the sort of knowledge he possessed was better indicated by his being called a *Wizard,* as that name had come to be taken by the beginning of the seventeenth century, than if he had been called either a philosopher or a scholar.

This ninth Earl of Northumberland was the father of Algernon the tenth Earl, who was twice married: first, to a daughter of William Cecil second Earl of Salisbury; secondly to a daughter of Theophilus Howard second Earl of Suffolk. When the former alliance was proposed

for him, his father is said to have exclaimed, in the bitterness of his aversion, that the Percy and the Cecil blood would not mingle in a basin.* By the latter, singularly enough, the palace at Charing Cross, now known as Northumberland House, which had been built by Lord Henry Howard, and originally called Northampton House after his title of peerage, came into possession of the son of that Northumberland whom he so hated and despised, and remains to this day the property and the town residence of his descendants: it had been presented by Northampton as a new year's gift to the second Earl of Suffolk,† who was his grand-nephew, upon which it acquired the name of Suffolk House, and by him it was given on her marriage to his daughter. By his first wife Earl Algernon had only five daughters; his second brought him a son, Josceline, who became eleventh Earl of Northumberland on the death of his father in 1668, but died within two years after, at the age of twenty-six, leaving only an infant daughter. With him ended the male line of Josceline of Louvaine, after having subsisted for about five centuries. With this eleventh Earl all the honours of the house of Percy had expired; but his daughter and sole heiress became in 1682 the wife of Charles Seymour sixth duke of Somerset, and their son Algernon, styled by courtesy Earl of Hertford, having been first in 1722, immediately after the death of his mother, summoned to the House of Lords as Baron Percy, succeeded to the Dukedom of Somerset upon the death of his father in 1748, and was the next year created Baron Warkworth and Earl of

* *Osborne*, 214.

† *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, 159.

Northumberland, with remainder to Sir Hugh Smithson, Baronet, who had married his daughter and only surviving child. He died four months afterwards, upon which Lady Smithson became Baroness Percy, in virtue of the writ of 1722, and Sir Hugh Earl of Northumberland. In 1766 the Earl of Northumberland was created Earl Percy and Duke of Northumberland. He was succeeded in 1786 by his eldest son Hugh as second Duke; he in 1817 by his eldest son Hugh as third Duke; and he in 1847, by his brother Algernon, the present possessor of the title, previously (in 1815) created Baron Prudhoe.

The reluctance which the Percy blood has always shown to flow in other than female veins is very remarkable. If at any time more male births have taken place than have barely sufficed to keep up the descent of the title from father to son, they have usually proved unproductive. Indeed this has been uniformly the case, with one very recent exception, for more than three centuries, to go no farther back. The seventh Earl of Northumberland, who succeeded to the title in 1537, left only four daughters. His brother, the eighth Earl, besides three daughters, had eight sons; but all of them except the eldest died either unmarried or without issue. The ninth Earl left two sons and two daughters; but of the sons only the eldest had issue. He, the tenth Earl, had six daughters, and only one son; and that son, who became the eleventh Earl, left only one child, a daughter. That daughter, the second heiress of her house, besides six

daughters, had seven sons; but of them all only the eldest had issue; and he again left only a daughter, once more and for the third time to transfer the stream of descent to a new channel. Her eldest son, the second Duke, left two sons; but the elder of the two, who became the third Duke, died without issue, and the present Duke, who is the younger, has no family. Of the second son of the first Duke, however, who succeeded his father as Baron Lovaine, and was afterwards created Earl of Beverley, the posterity in both sexes is very numerous.

THE LAST OF THE RUTHVENS.

A REMARKABLE letter, published in the *Cabala*, makes a link between the ninth Earl of Northumberland and an individual now much forgotten, but whose family figures as conspicuously in Scottish as that of the Percies does in English history throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century, and whose own fortunes are also singular and interesting. The letter, besides, throws some additional illustration upon the character of the Earl, to whom it bears to be addressed. The signature attached to it is *Patrick Ruthen*, and it commences thus:—"My Lord, It may be interpreted discretion sometimes to wink at private wrongs, especially for such a one as myself, that have a long time wrastled with a hard fortune, and whose actions, words, and behaviour are continually subject to the censure of a whole state; yet not to be sensible of public and national disgrace were stupidity and baseness of mind; for no place, nor time, nor state can excuse any man from performing that duty and obligation wherein nature hath tied him to his country and to himself." The writer then intimates that he alludes to certain infamous verses lately dispersed abroad by his lordship's means to disgrace him and his country, and to wrong and stain through him the honour of a lady, whose

immaculate virtue the Earl was the more bound to admire and uphold, inasmuch as that, having dishonourably assaulted it, he had not been able to prevail. "Think not," he sternly adds, "to bear down these things either by greatness or denial; for the circumstances that prove them are too evident, and the veil wherewith you would shadow them is too transparent." Afterwards he sarcastically commends the Earl's wisdom, whatever may be thought of his spirit, in choosing a course so safe as attacking a woman and a prisoner. And then, having declared whatever imputations the verses may contain to be wholly false, and the Earl's conduct to be most dishonourable, unworthy, and base, he concludes:—"If these words sound harshly in your lordship's ear, blame yourself, since yourself forgetting yourself hath taught others how to dishonour you. And remember, that, though nobility makes a difference of persons, yet injury acknowledgeth none."

This letter is probably all the remnant that the stream of time has floated down to our day of the particular chapter of the Earl's history to which it belongs. The common accounts of his lordship make no allusion either to the verses or the lady. The letter, therefore, is chiefly significant to us in reference to the writer. If it was really addressed to the Earl of Northumberland (which, it may just be observed, there is nothing in it absolutely to prove that it was), the only light we get from that is in regard to the date at which it must have been written. Northumberland, it is plain, had not yet himself become, as the writer was, the inmate of a prison. It must then have been written before

November 1605. On the other hand, the imprisonment of the writer, at least in England, cannot have commenced till some time after the death of Elizabeth. The letter may, most probably, be assigned to a date very shortly preceding that of the Gunpowder Plot.

It is not only very spirited, but distinguished by a vigour and polish of expression which would seem to betoken no common amount of literary cultivation. If the writer was the person commonly supposed, he was only a youth of one or two-and-twenty, but he was sprung of a family which had been very remarkable for some generations both for scholarship and for talent developed at an unusually early age. The concluding words of the letter must have been penned in bitterness of heart. Patrick Ruthen, or Ruthven, had been born noble as well as Northumberland, but was so no longer. His once lofty and flourishing family tree had been torn up by the roots. He was the youngest brother of John Ruthven, third Earl of Gowrie, famous in our annals as the hero of the Gowrie conspiracy.

There had been something at once of an opposition and of a parallelism between the recent histories of the Percies and the Ruthvens. They had stood upon opposite sides, or moved in contrary directions, throughout the great contention of principles which arose out of the Reformation, and which, in England as well as in Scotland, though in a less degree in the former country than in the latter, kept up an unsteady and explosive condition of things to the end of the century, when the union of the two crowns brought at least a temporary security or lull; for, while the Percies had

always leant to the old religion, the most extreme form of Protestantism had had no more ardent or determined champions than the successive heads of the house of Ruthven. But, as the seventh Earl of Northumberland had been beheaded and attainted in 1572, so had the first Earl of Gowrie in 1584; the mysterious fate of the eighth Earl of Northumberland, found murdered in 1585, may match with that of the third Earl of Gowrie and his brother, slain at Perth in 1601; and here were now the ninth Earl of Northumberland and another brother of the late Earl of Gowrie locked up together in the Tower, and kept there for many years as suspected and dangerous persons by the same king, though still, as formerly, on the most opposite charges or grounds. Nothing, however, is told of any companionship having sprung up between the Earl and the eloquent letter-writer with whom he found himself in such close neighbourhood; and it is not probable that his lordship's learned conferences with Raleigh and Hariot were ever joined by Patrick Ruthven.

The Ruthvens, who seem to have been of Saxon, or perhaps Danish, origin, had transplanted themselves to Scotland before the middle of the twelfth century. The first of them who was ennobled was Sir William de Ruthven, who was made a baron by James III. in 1488. His grandson, William, the second lord, was one of the first persons of rank in Scotland who embraced the reformed faith, and one of the most zealous and active among the combatants against the Catholic party in its dying struggle. It was his son, Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, and also, as heir to his mother,

eighth Lord Haliburton of Dirleton, who took the leading part in the assassination of Rizzio on the 9th of March 1566. This Lord Ruthven, who is commonly regarded as little better than a barbarian, had received a learned education at the university of St. Andrews, and was an expert clerk and a man of literary tastes and accomplishments, as ready, when occasion demanded, with his pen as he was with his dagger; but, with his countrymen almost universally at that date, he deemed it no crime to shed blood, when called for, any more than ink, in a good cause. He has left a narrative of the celebrated transaction to which he principally owes his historical reputation; and, on the strength of that performance, Horace Walpole has given his lordship a place among his *Royal and Noble Authors*. It was the employment of the last hours of his life. When he hurried Rizzio to his account, Ruthven, though only forty-six, was himself a dying man. He rose to execute the murder from a sick-bed, on which he had been stretched for many weeks. Unable to walk under the weight of his armour, he had to lean upon two men in making his way to the Queen's apartment, where he was to find his victim; and, as he directed the bloody work, his pale countenance, sunken eyes, and hollow sepulchral voice, contrasting strangely with his furious mien, gave him the aspect of something unearthly. After the deed was done he fled to England; and there, having spent the little remnant of his strength in writing his history of the affair, he breathed his last in about three months.*

* There was a sort of relationship, it may be observed, between

His son William was the first Earl of Gowrie. He was so created in 1581; and, with his title, he also received the lands of Gowrie, which had formerly belonged to the now dissolved monastery of Scone. The Reformation, therefore, in which the Ruthvens had taken so forward a part for three generations, had turned out a paying concern for them at last. This first Earl of Gowrie, who was a man of great ability, is he who figures in the enterprise called the *Raid of Ruthven.* The castle of Ruthven, about two miles to the west of Perth, was the Earl's usual place of residence. Here James the Sixth was seized and made a prisoner on the 23rd of August, 1582; and his majesty remained in the hands of the conspirators for about ten months. Gowrie received a formal pardon for this attempt; but he was soon after apprehended on a new charge of treason, and, having been brought to trial at Stirling on the 28th of May 1584, was sent to the block the same evening. "This," writes Spottiswood, "was the end of that nobleman, who, in his life, was much honoured, and employed in the chief offices of court. A man wise, but said to have been too curious, and to have consulted with wizards, touching the state of things in future times; yet was he not charged with this, nor seemed he to be touched therewith in his

Ruthven and Darnley. Darnley's grandmother, Margaret Tudor, married for her third husband Henry Stewart, first Lord Methven; and Lord Methven's second wife, the Lady Janet Stewart, after his death, became the second wife of Lord Ruthven. Lord Methven was therefore, by affinity, grandfather to Darnley, and brother to Ruthven; so that Ruthven might be said to be Darnley's grandfather's brother, or his great-uncle.

death, which, to the judgment of the beholders, was very peaceable and quiet. He was heard to make that common regret which many great men have done in such misfortunes, that, if he had served God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that end; but otherwise died patiently, with a contempt of the world, and assurance of mercy at the hands of God."

By his wife, Dorothea Stewart, a daughter of the first Lord Methven by his second wife, the Lady Janet Stewart,* the first Earl of Gowrie had a numerous family, five sons and eight daughters; yet, supposing

* This lady, the eldest daughter of John Stewart, second Earl of Atholl, was a distinguished beauty, and was four times married. Her first husband was Alexander Gordon, Master of Sutherland, who died in 1529, some years before his mother the Countess, and by whom she was the mother of John tenth Earl of Sutherland; her second, by whom she had also issue, was Sir Hugh Kennedy, of Girvanmains; her third was Henry Stewart first Lord Methven, previously married to Margaret Tudor; finally, about the year 1557, some six or seven years after the death of Lord Methven, she became the wife of Patrick, Lord Ruthven, the assassin, to whom she was still young enough to bring forth a son, although she had already been the mother of five children eight or nine-and-twenty years before.

Such, at least, is the account given by the Peerage-writers (See *Wood's Douglas*, I. 141, 662; II. 229, 576). It is in itself barely credible; and a document which has been lately brought forward for another purpose seems to cast additional doubt upon it. In a *Notice* appended to his edition of *The Chronicle of Perth* (printed for the Maitland Club, 4to, Edinburgh, 1831), Mr. Maidment (p. 102) quotes an entry from the Privy Seal Record of Scotland (*Lib.* 24, *fol.* 79), dated at Edinburgh, 16th September 1551, in which this lady is designated *Countess* of Sutherland—"Jonetam Stewart, Comitissam de Sutherland." Had she been allowed the style and precedence of a Countess after the accession of her son to the Earldom? It may also be noted that, if we may rely upon *Douglas* (II. 229), she is described in 1545 as simply Jonet Stewart, wife of Lord Methven; in 1548 as wife of Lord Methven, and Mistress of Sutherland; and in 1551 as Lady Sutherland.

But the entry produced by Mr. Maidment is chiefly remarkable on

him to have been born when his father was only in his twentieth year, he would be no more than five-and-forty at the time of his death. His marriage took place in August 1561. The tradition of the country around Ruthven Castle has preserved a romance of one of the daughters of which the Peerages take no note. The high-born lady, it is told, having a lover of whom the family did not approve, used to meet him in the night at the top of a tower in a part of the castle which was then disconnected from the rest of the building. One night she had just parted with him, and was about to glide back from their aërial trysting-place to her own apartment, when the sound of fast approaching footsteps, which she knew to be none of his, was heard ascending the one narrow staircase. It was her mother, who had been informed of what was going on, and was hurrying

another account. It is an entry of the *Legitimation* of all the children of Henry Lord Methven and Jonet Stewart Countess of Sutherland, being a son (afterwards the second Lord Methven) and three daughters, of whom Dorothy, who became Countess of Gowrie, was the youngest.

It is related that, when, after the murder of Rizzio, the Queen told Darnley he had taken his farewell of her, Ruthven endeavoured to argue her Majesty into a sense of the duty of submission, upon which Mary turned upon him with the question, "Why may I not leave him, as well as your wife did her husband?" Ruthven replied that his wife had been lawfully divorced from her husband (*Robertson's Scotland, Appendix* xv.). Had the Lady Janet Stewart, then, been divorced from her second husband Sir Hugh Kennedy, but had the divorce not been obtained till after all her children to Lord Methven were born?

It may be remarked, in further illustration of the manners or morals of the higher classes in Scotland in those days, that the two eldest sons of the first Lord Ruthven, one of them the grandfather of Rizzio's assassin, were both born to him while their mother, whom he afterwards married, was the wife of another man; and that they also, like the Countess of Gowrie and her brother and sisters, had to obtain a special Legitimation under the Great Seal.

full of rage, and probably accompanied by several attendants, to detect and convict the delinquent. There was but one way of escape. A chasm, sixty feet deep, and nine feet four inches across, divided the tower from the inhabited part of the castle. This, with a desperate bound, she cleared, and in a few minutes more was snugly nestled in her own bed. The space over which she flew retains to this day the name of the *Maiden's Leap;* but the opposing battlements, then separated by a yawning gulf, have been since united. For Ruthven Castle still stands. As for the loving and courageous lady, whose exploit will preserve an undying halo around its towers while they continue to press the earth, and even when they shall have become only those of a castle in the air (after all, the most indestructible of all castles), it will surprise no reader to be told that, for her, stone walls were not to make a prison long. The popular tradition, in its impetuous way, will have it that she was off with her lover the very next night. It does not appear to be remembered which of the Earl's daughters she was. Of the eight, all but one are recorded to have been married, and most of them made high alliances. Mary, the eldest, became the wife of an Earl of Atholl; Jane, of a Lord Ogilvy; Sophia, of Ludovic Stuart second Duke of Lennox; Elizabeth married the fourth Earl of Montrose, by whom she was the mother of the great Marquis. The youngest of these four would be at least sixteen at the time of their father's death, and they may have all been married while he lived. The others had to content themselves with commoners:—

Lilias, with a Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar; Dorothea, with a Sir John Wemyss of Pittencrief; Beatrix, with a Sir John Home of Coldenknowes; only Catharine, who was the seventh, died a maid. Another account, however, makes the wife of Sir Robert Gordon, whose name it gives as not Lilias but Isabel, to have been divorced from him, and to have remarried the first Lord Loudon. One cannot help suspecting that this Lilias, or Isabel, perhaps as light-headed as she was light-heeled, may have been the Lady of the Leap. And was Lilias of Gowrie, then, and not Ellen of Netherby, the true heroine of the story which, floating indistinctly in the mist of the past, suggested to Scott his animated ballad of *Young Lochinvar?*

Probably all the Earl's eight daughters came into the world before any of his five sons: at least Catharine, the seventh daughter, was born in 1572, and James, the eldest son, not till 1575. About two years after the Earl's death his forfeiture was reversed, and the family estates, as well as the title, restored to this boy; but he died in 1588, when only in his fourteenth year. His next brother, John, who is supposed to have been about three years younger, then became the third Earl of Gowrie,—and, as it proved, the last.

He and his next brother, Alexander, perished, on the 5th of August 1600, in the mysterious tragedy known as the Gowrie conspiracy. The circumstances of the explosion and failure of that attempt belong to the broad and beaten highroad of history, and not to the neglected bye-paths where we are now straying, and collecting such particulars as bring out and illustrate

rather the personal than the public or political aspects of events. The two brothers had gone to the Continent under the care of their tutor in August 1594, and the Earl had only newly returned home. He had spent most of the time he was abroad at the University of Padua, where he so greatly distinguished himself that he is said to have been at last elected Rector of the University, or, according to another account, to have been appointed to a Professor's chair. We have two letters written by him from Padua in November 1595, which have all the appearance of being his own throughout in language as well as in sentiment, and are very remarkable as samples of the literary skill he had already acquired, as well as in other respects. One is to King James, to whom he professes his gratitude in strong terms for the favours his family and himself had received from his Majesty, favours, he says, which demand in return whatsoever he is able to do, and a hundred thousand times more; the other, which is much longer, is to one of the clergymen of Perth, whom he addresses as his "beloved brother," and amply evinces the deep sense of religion and burning Protestant zeal which had already taken possession of the young nobleman. Leaving Italy in the end of the year 1599, he returned home through Switzerland, France, and England. First, he tarried three months in Calvinistic Geneva, lodging in the house of Theodore Beza, to whom he so endeared himself that Beza, Calderwood tells us, "never made nor heard mention of his death but with tears."* Thence we trace him

* *History*, VI. 67.

to Paris, from which city Sir Henry Nevil, the English ambassador, writes on the 27th of February 1600 to Secretary Cecil, informing him that the young Scottish Earl, having spent some time in these parts, "is prepared to return home through England, and desires to have the honour of kissing her Majesty's hand as he passeth." "And, because I know him well," Nevil adds, "and have had good communication with him, and therein found him to be of very good judgment, and exceedingly well affected both to the common cause of religion, and particularly to her Majesty and that which may concern her honour and service, I have thought good to recommend him especially unto your honour. . . . . If your honour please to confer with him about these alterations feared in Scotland, I believe he will give you good satisfaction, and that you will find him to be a man of whom there may be exceeding good use made."* Having in passing through London had the desired audience of Elizabeth, the Earl appears to have arrived in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, probably at the family seat of Dirleton in East Lothian, where his mother resided, about the middle of April. He made his entry into the Scottish capital a few days after, accompanied by his brother Alexander and a great number of noblemen and gentlemen on horseback, while a throng of persons of lower degree following the cavalcade on foot made the air ring with their huzzas of welcome. By the clergy and the people generally the chief of the house of Gowrie, with his personal and ancestral Presbyterianism, and his eminent

* *Winwood*, I. 156.

accomplishments, was looked upon as the man of the coming time, the destined leader and champion of the national cause. But the popular enthusiasm was not shared by King James. When his Majesty was told of the unusual state and show with which the young nobleman had ridden up the High Street, he broke out into a rage, and exclaimed, that there was a greater gathering about his father when he was convoyed to the scaffold.*

It was not till more than a month after this that the Earl made his first appearance in Perth. He is recorded to have come to that city on the 20th of May, conducted by a party of gentlemen and other friends.† We may be sure that he was warmly welcomed here by a community which had been devoted to his house ever since the Reformation, and which continued to be united to it by the closest ties. Perth was in fact, and had long been, to the Ruthvens their own town as much as if they had been its feudal lords. For more than half a century the head of the family had been constantly Provost (or chief magistrate), with the exception only of a few years when circumstances did not permit such an election. The first Earl held that office when he was brought to the block; it was bestowed upon his eldest son, though only a child of thirteen, as soon as he was restored to the title; the present Earl had been

* *Calderwood*, VI. 71.

† *Adamson's Threnodie, by Cant*, I. 186.—Cant says, "at eleven houris yetteine," quoting from what he describes as a miscellaneous MS. in his possession, written by a citizen of Perth, named *Dundee*. Does *yetteine* mean *at e'en*, or in the evening?

originally appointed to it at about the same age, two years before he went abroad, and he had been annually re-elected all the time of his absence from his native country. Once more among his fellow-townsmen, therefore, he was like a king surrounded by his subjects, whom all things combined to attach to him, and upon whose fidelity and support he might count to almost any extent.

It would appear that their project had been fully determined upon by the two brothers before the middle of July. On the morning of Tuesday the 5th of August Alexander Ruthven came to Falkland, where the King was, and persuaded his Majesty to accompany him to Perth. After dining there in Gowrie House, James was led away by Alexander to a distant apartment, where his conductor suddenly told him he was a prisoner, and, holding a dagger to his breast, commanded him to suffer his hands to be bound. A struggle ensued, during which the King's cries were heard by his attendants, who forthwith rushed to his rescue; Alexander Ruthven was slain in his Majesty's presence; the Earl, who did not make his appearance till after his brother had fallen, was also, although accompanied by seven armed attendants, speedily overpowered and dispatched. The townspeople at first were thrown into great commotion, and were on the point of rising in support of their Provost, or to avenge his death; but the earnest explanations of how the case stood that were given by the King and his followers at length allayed the tumult; and about eight o'clock James was enabled to quit the town, leaving everything

quiet, and to take his way back to Falkland.* It was both a dark and rainy night that closed the bloody day; but, notwithstanding, by the time his Majesty had proceeded a few miles from Perth, the country was all astir, and the rest of his journey was performed amid the acclamations of throngs of people of all classes on foot and on horseback. The official account concludes with merely noticing, "as well known to all men," "the frequence and concourse of persons of all degrees to Falkland the rest of the week, and to Edinburgh the next, from all the quarters of the country," and "the testimony of the subjects' hearty affection and joy for his Majesty's delivery expressed everywhere by ringing of bells, bonfires, shooting off guns of all sorts, both by sea and land, &c."

The news of what had happened at Perth reached Edinburgh about nine o'clock the next morning.

* The description given of the commotion shows what support Gowrie might have counted upon from the people of Perth. In an order of the Privy Council charging the magistrates to appear personally before his Majesty, to answer for their conduct, it is declared, that, after the Earl and his brother had been dispatched; while his Highness looked for no further danger or invasion at that time, "notwithstanding it is of truth that his Highness was of new assailed and pursued by a great number of the community and inhabitants of the burgh of Perth, all in arms, who environed his Majesty's house on all parts, assieged and pursued his Highness within the same, uttering most irreverent and undutiful speeches against his Majesty, his nobility, and certain of his servants and good subjects, who accompanied his Highness for the time, and could no ways be moved to forbear their tumultuous and insolent behaviour; but did what in them lay, by crying for fire and powder, and running with joists at the yetts [gates] of the said house, to have blown up the yetts of the said house, and to have exponed in hazard the lives of his Majesty and his good subjects."—(See the original Scotch in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, II. 236.)

There, in attendance at the Schools, that is, probably, the College, were resident, in "the dwelling-house of Alexander Adamson, in umquhile [the late] Mr. Thomas M'Calyean's Close,"* William and Patrick Ruthven, the two youngest and only remaining brothers of the slain Earl. Upon these youths, and those who had the charge of them, the astounding intelligence must have come as if in the serenest weather a thunderbolt had suddenly fallen at their feet. It was clear that instant flight could alone save them. They and their tutor seem to have proceeded at once to the house of their mother at Dirleton. The distance is about ten miles. But even there they were not safe for more than the moment. On the evening of that same day two zealous courtiers, the Master of Orkney and Sir James Sandilands, mustering a party of horse, set out for Dirleton, in the hope of securing the two boys. But a friend of the family, a person of the name of Kennedy, belonging to the Court, had sent warning of the danger; and their removal had been effected half an hour before their pursuers reached the Castle. The Countess, Calderwood relates, "carried herself soberly," or maintained a composed manner, till they assured her that if the boys were given up no harm should befall them; they would only be committed to the custody of the Earl of Montrose, the Chancellor: on that, in a burst of passion, she broke out, "Ah! ah! the false traitor, the thief! Shall my bairns come into his hands?" This perhaps was only the swelling anguish that would not be longer

* *Document in Pitcairn*, I. 167.

pent up, and which the image of any other custodier of her boys might have made to overflow as readily as did that of Montrose. After all she had gone through, her heart must have been full enough. No wonder that, with the bloody deaths of her husband and her two newly slaughtered sons blinding her mind's eye, all before her, like all behind, became "one red."

The Gowrie Conspiracy, when it was first heard of, astonished and confounded all Europe. In Scotland, where so much of high anticipation had gathered around the young Earl in the public mind, the general amazement was extreme. Nothing had ever happened more unexpectedly, or which it more perplexed people to account for. The entire tide of their prejudices, convictions, and hopes was suddenly met and driven back in its fullest flow. The Presbyterian clergy in particular, who had no love for James, and who for the greater part would certainly have very soon reconciled themselves to the conspiracy if it had succeeded, after a moment of stupefaction almost universally made up their minds to the conclusion that there had been no conspiracy on the part of the Earl and his brother at all. This was equivalent to asserting in plain words, though of course they did not do that, that the Ruthvens had been conspired against, that they were in fact murdered men, and that the King was their murderer. The most troublesome and obstinate of the clergy was a Mr. Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, an individual of distinguished popularity and influence. Long after all his brethren had yielded to the strong

measures that were taken to extort their admission of the truth of his Majesty's account of the affair, Bruce continued to stand out. The recital of the anxious efforts of the King and the Council to bring him over runs through some hundreds of pages in Calderwood's *History*. Even after he had at last consented to subscribe a declaration of his belief in the royal narrative, he declined to announce his change of opinion from the pulpit. "No, no," said he, with some humour; "I will ever be a partial and sparing blazer of my own infirmities. Others will be far better heralds of my ignominy than I myself."* In the many arguments they had together, James maintained as much self-command as could reasonably be expected; but at times his patience gave way. At one of their conferences his Majesty offered to allow his reverend antagonist to *pose*, or cross-question, him upon the particulars. "Then, first, if it please you, Sir," said Bruce, "had ye a purpose to slay my Lord?" "As I shall answer to God," replied James, "I knew not that my Lord was slain till I saw him in his last agony; and was very sorry, yea prayed in my heart, for the same." "What say ye, then, concerning Mr. Alexander?" said Bruce. "I grant," replied his Majesty, "I am art and part of Mr. Alexander's slaughter, for it was in my own defence." "But why did you not rather bring him to justice?" argued Bruce: "you should have had God before your eyes." "I had neither God nor the Devil, man, before my eyes," roared out his Majesty, "but my own defence." "Here," observes the historian,

* *Calderwood*, VI. 143.

"the King began to fret." He reiterated all his assertions, we are informed, upon his salvation and damnation; confessing, however, that he was at one time minded to have spared Mr. Alexander, by which he must have meant to command his attendants to spare his life; but the emotion or excitement into which he had been thrown (partly, no doubt, of indignation, partly of fear) prevailed. Bruce finally asked his Majesty, coming certainly as close upon the most daring supposition in the world as could be done in words, whether he had not had a purpose that day in the morning to slay Mr. Alexander. James declared upon his salvation that that day in the morning he loved Alexander Ruthven as if he had been his brother.*

They had been in fact great friends. When they were struggling with one another, the King called out to him, "Mr. Alexander, ye and I were very great together; and, as touching your father's death, man, I was but a minor." Ruthven, when he held the dagger to the King's breast, had said, "Remember my father's death." It was his habit of familiar intercourse with his Majesty of which Alexander availed himself to lure him to Perth. It is in evidence that, when he came up to his Majesty at Falkland, James laid his hand on his shoulder and clapped him. Such a circumstance would not have been stated unless it had been true, or at least consistent with what was wont to take place between them. The care which his Majesty took of the children of the first Earl of Gowrie, Spotswood observes, and the kindness which he showed them,

* *Calderwood*, VI. 156.

evinced how entirely he disapproved of the manner in which their father had been "taken away by form of justice" during his minority, although he had been forced to yield his apparent assent to that proceeding, as well as to "many other things that agreed not with his mind." The historian further assures us that he had intended to advance the young Earl to one of the principal offices in the kingdom.* The youngest of his sisters, the Lady Beatrix, held at the time of the conspiracy the place of chief maid of honour to the Queen; and Alexander was one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's bedchamber.

Alexander Ruthven, when he lost his life, was little more than nineteen. Among the rumours and conjectures to which the fate of the two brothers immediately gave rise one was very remarkable. Sir Henry Nevil, writing to Winwood from London on the 15th of November, thus reports;—"Out of Scotland we hear there is no good agreement between the King of Scots and his wife; and many are of opinion that the discovery of some affection between her and the Earl of Gowrie's brother (who was killed with him) was the truest cause and motive of all that tragedy." † In modern times a different inference has been drawn. The late John Pinkerton wrote a dissertation to prove that Alexander Ruthven was the sole author of the attempt, which, he says, in itself was foolish and weakly conducted, but was designed to accomplish some object which he and the Queen, whose favourite he was, had in view; "most probably an abdication of the govern-

* *History*, 457. † *Memorials*, I. 274.

ment by James in favour of Prince Henry, and the Queen's appointment to the regency."

An anecdote of the loves of Alexander Ruthven and Anne of Denmark is said to have been preserved by popular tradition, though it would probably be difficult to trace the tradition to any remote date. One summer afternoon, it is told, James, strolling in the garden of the palace at Falkland, came upon Ruthven stretched asleep on the grass, when his eye was immediately attracted by a rich ribbon about the young man's neck, a small portion of which glanced from under his cravat. It was one which his majesty had lately made a present of to the Queen. He hurried off to find Anne; but one of her ladies, who had observed what passed, and whose eye, hand, and foot must have been as nimble as her invention, running up to the sleeping youth, in an instant possessed herself of the ribbon, and, taking a nearer way of access, had the luck to get with it to her Majesty's apartment before him. She found Anne at her toilet, and had just time earnestly to entreat her to put the ribbon in a drawer, and to slip away, before James made his appearance. When, on his demanding to see the ribbon, the drawer was opened and it was put into his hands, he looked at it with considerable surprise as well as attention for some moments, and then gave it back to Anne without a word of remark; but, as he staggered out of the room, he was overheard muttering to himself "Deil tak me, but *like* is an ill mark!" The words, which, however, were probably in common use in Scotland before this, as they still

are, very well hit off James's peculiar kind of sagacity, in which there was usually, at the best, more of ingenious speculation than of real insight.

That what is called the Gowrie conspiracy was a contrivance of James to effect the destruction of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, is one of those insanities which may be excused to the heated temper and rabid party prejudice of a time in which such a transaction could occur; but the historical maintenance of that proposition can only be regarded as a proof of historical incompetency. Accordingly, no writer who has acquired the general respect and confidence of the public in the field of history has taken up such a conceit; it has been left to a few provincial antiquaries, and to the shallowest dilettantism of historical speculation. No doubt there is much that is dark and disputable about this conspiracy; both the objects and the motives of its authors are only matter of conjecture; and, as Lord Hailes has remarked, the King, and those who supported or adopted his account at the time, rendered the conspiracy less credible by exaggerating many of its circumstances. But the difficulties that have been created in this way are just enough to make a case for that description of mind which is without the power of looking at more than one side of a question. The opposite difficulties only require the capacity of appreciating them to be felt to be insuperable. Above all, the conception of the character of James which is implied in the notion of his having conducted, in the manner supposed, a deliberate attempt to slaughter the Earl of Gowrie and his

brother in their own house, is an extravagance that could take possession only of a judgment blinded by passion. Every thing that we really know of the two brothers, on the contrary, is perfectly consistent with the way in which they appear to have acted according to the only positive statement that we have—for the other view of the case is a mere hypothesis, or conjectural inference, opposed to every particle of direct evidence that exists on the subject. Whatever of miscalculation and rashness their attempt may seem chargeable with, is nothing more than we should be led to expect from the over estimation of themselves, which, with all their intellectual superiority, belonged to their characters, or which, at any rate, was natural to them in their position. A few days before the affair the Earl is recorded to have remarked to a person who called upon him, and found him reading a book about conspiracies against sovereigns, that all such attempts hitherto had been foolishly contrived, and faulty either in one point or another.* He appears to have hoped to produce in his own case something at once quite original and perfect. But it is in the Letters of their confederate Logan of Restalrig that both the Earl and his brother, though indicated only by a few slight touches, are brought before us with the most life-like air. If these letters are genuine, the conspiracy is, of course, proved; and now, especially, that we are in possession of the alleged originals,† the external evidence of their

* *Spotswood*, 460.

† Logan's Letters were first heard of in 1608, as being in the possession of George Sprot, a notary at Eyemouth, near Logan's house of Fast-castle. Both Logan and his servant James Bower (called Laird Bower)

genuineness may be said to be such as to put an end to all rational scepticism on the point. If they are still

were by this time dead. Sprot was immediately apprehended. He was first examined before the Privy Council on the 5th of July, when he made a full confession of his knowledge of the conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, and of Logan's participation in it, some time before the 5th of August 1600. Upon this confession he was brought to trial on the 12th of August, and being convicted, was hanged that same day at the cross of Edinburgh. At his execution he repeated his confession at great length, with the deepest expressions of contrition and religious penitence; and, having announced that he would give the people a sign of its truth after he was thrown off, he astonished the multitude who looked on by raising his hands while he hung in the air and clapping them thrice.

But the Letters, it is to be observed, were not produced at Sprot's trial. The Court was satisfied with his repetition of their substance, as far as he recollected them. This was, not unnaturally, thought sufficient for the business in hand—the establishment of Sprot's own guilt. But the actual Letters were afterwards found, where he had stated they were, among his papers, and were brought forward in a process of treason raised against the late Robert Logan of Restalrig, and tried before the estates of Parliament on the 24th of June in the following year. It was now that proof was adduced of their being in Logan's handwriting; and that fact was established, to all appearance, on the most unexceptionable testimony. The Court was unanimous in finding it proved; although several lords declared that when they entered the House they had, notwithstanding Sprot's confessions, still been in doubt. Archbishop Spotswood, who in his *History of the Church of Scotland* seems to express himself with some hesitation or perplexity as to the credibility of the story told by Sprot, at whose trial and execution he was present, takes no notice of the process against Logan, of which perhaps he had never heard.

The Letters, however, were still only known from certain printed copies of them, which did not altogether agree one with another, till the originals were discovered by Mr. Robert Pitcairn among the Warrants of Parliament in the Register Office, Edinburgh, about twenty years ago. Correct copies were first published by Mr. Pitcairn in his *Criminal Trials*, Part IV., 4to. Edinburgh, 1830. There are five letters; one to the Earl of Gowrie, one to Bower, the other three to an unknown personage, who is addressed as "Right Honourable Sir," and who was also privy to the conspiracy. The papers preserved in the Register Office are, of course, the same that were produced by the Lord Advocate in

to be considered as of doubtful authenticity, it may be safely affirmed that they stand alone among documents so discredited or regarded with suspicion. There is not to be found any similar opprobrium of palaeographical science. But the internal evidence is almost as strong as the external. If these letters are forgeries, they are the cleverest on record. Their invention would do honour to the greatest master of fiction that ever lived. Nothing at once more natural and more full of character was even penned.

Of the two brothers, Alexander is the one of whose movements the most is said. The impression left by the letters is, that he was more forward and active in the business than the Earl, and that his general openness of character contrasted with the reserve of his brother. But nobody seems to have been so eager as Restalrig himself. From the moment he has fairly

the process of treason against Logan. They are the actual originals, which were then held to have been proved to be in Logan's handwriting.

A circumstance which is very important in its bearing upon the question of the authenticity of these letters is, that they do not go to support the view of the conspiracy maintained by the King. They reveal no design of taking his Majesty's life, at least in the first instance. Their language is consistent only with the supposition that all that was intended was the seizure of James's person, and his detention in Logan's house of Fastcastle, where, as he observes, he had before kept the Earl of Bothwell in his greatest extremities, let the King and his council say what they would. The son, in fact, was merely to repeat what the father had done in the *Raid of Ruthven*. This is not such a version of the story as James would ever have produced, if he and the government had set themselves to manufacture the letters.

Upon the subject of Logan of Restalrig and these letters, the reader may further be referred to the new matter brought forward by Mr. Mark Napier in his *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*, 4to, Edin. 1834, pp. 217—222.

engaged in the scheme, he is its animating spirit, and, even more than either of his chief associates, its directing intelligence. His motives and objects are of the basest and most selfish kind. His reward, it appears, if all had gone on well, was to have been Gowrie's estate of Dirleton, in East Lothian, one of the finest properties in Scotland. To his trusty agent and dependent, Laird Bower—the special secretary of his life, as he calls him, who had been his friend "auld Manderstone's" man, for death and life, and was now the same for him—he expresses himself with perfect frankness:—"I care naught," he writes, "for all the land I have in this kingdom in case I get a grip of Dirleton, for I esteem it the pleasantest dwelling in Scotland." After this, the high strain which he now and then takes up is ludicrous enough. Writing, for instance, to the Earl himself, it is their duty to the dead, unjustly doomed, that he puts forward as their great incentive. If all things be gone about with proper care and discretion, he doubts not but, with God's grace, they shall bring their matter to such a conclusion as shall content all of them who have ever wished to be revenged for the Macchiavellian massacring of their dearest friends. So also to the unknown accomplice, styled "Right Honourable Sir," to whom three of the five letters are addressed:—"I think there is nane of a noble heart, or carries ane stomach worth a penny, but they would be glad to see ane contented revenge of Grey Steel's death." Grey Steel was the popular name of the Earl's father. In the sentence immediately preceding this, however, we have the old villain speaking in his natural

voice in earnestly opposing the idea of communicating the design either to his own half-brother, the Lord Home, or to Mr. William Rhynd, Gowrie's "auld pedagogue," or tutor; "for my brother," he says, "is kittle [ticklish] to shoe behind, and dare not enterprize for fear; and the other will dissuade us frae our purpose with reasons of religion, whilk I can never abide."

Restalrig, whose strong natural shrewdness, though he may not have had much literary cultivation, is as visible as his boldness and unscrupulousness of character in every sentence that we have under his hand, evidently did not rate either the Earl or his brother very high. One might suppose, from his manner of expressing himself throughout, that they were rather his agents, or instruments, than he theirs. It is all exhortation, warning, direction; except, indeed, when he condescends now and then to flatter their weaknesses. "In case," he writes, in his first letter to his Right Honourable confidant, "ye and Mr. Alexander Ruthven forgather [meet], because he is somewhat conceity, for God's sake be very ware with his rackless toys of Padua; for he tald me ane of the strangest tales of ane nobleman of Padua that ever I heard in my life, resembling the like purpose." He put little or no faith in Alexander's extraordinary story, but he cautions his friend, if the visionary young man should favour him with the same relation, to take care not to contradict him, or show himself incredulous. The story was a capital one for their purpose, and might be turned to good account, since the two brothers chose to believe it, however absurd. Accordingly, before concluding his long letter

to the Earl, which he intimates it took him two whole days to write, but little accustomed as he was to handle the pen, he subjoins in a postscript:—"I will never forget the gude sport that Mr. Alexander, your lordship's brother, told me of ane nobleman of Padua, it comes so oft to my memory. And indeed it is a parasceue [preparative] to this purpose we have in hand." So again, in his last letter to his Right Honourable friend,—"Pray his lordship be quick, and bid Mr. Alexander remember on the sport he tald me of Padua, for I think with myself that the cogitation on that should stimulate his lordship." It seems clear that the Earl was not quite so ardent as either Restalrig or his brother. With all his impatience, however, to revenge his slaughtered chieftain, or to clutch his promised reward, Restalrig is not without some misgivings when he thinks of the inexperienced heads with which he has associated himself in so perilous an enterprise:—"And, for God's sake," he earnestly adds, "use all your courses *cum discretione*."

The revulsion from strong affection makes the sharpest hate. The expiation exacted by James for the treasonable attempt of the two brothers, although the attempt had failed, and had already cost both of them their lives, was of the most comprehensive character. An Act of Parliament not only disinherited the heirs and successors of the late Earl of Gowrie and his next brother, but declared all their brethren, lawful or unlawful, the issue of the body of Earl William, and the whole remaining posterity, heirs, and successors of

his two late sons, to be in all time coming incapable of enjoying or possessing either honours, dignities, offices, benefices, lands, heritages, rooms, possessions, goods, gear, successions, or any other rights or commodities whatsoever, within the realm. Another Act abolished the very name of Ruthven. It was a name, the preamble declared, which had been naturally bent for many years bygone to attempt most high and horrible treasons against his Majesty and his most noble progenitors, so that his Majesty had been thereby brought into vehement suspicion of the whole race. It was ordered that the name should now and in all time coming be extinguished and abolished for ever, and that such of his Highness's subjects bearing it as were free and innocent of the said treasons, for which it had been so long notorious, should, before next Whitsunday, renounce it, and "tak to themselves, their bairns, and posterity ony other honest and undefamit sirname, whereby they and their bairns should be called in all time coming." The very seat of the family, the barony and place of Ruthven (or Ruthven Castle), was to lose its ancient designation, and to be called *Hunting Tower;* and their lodging in the town of Perth was to be cast down and razed to the ground, and a monument to be erected where it had stood, with an inscription declaring all the particulars of the daring treason of the two brothers, for whose sake the spot was thus to remain for ever desolate and cursed.

This last passionate statute, however, took little effect. The dead bodies of the Earl and his brother, having been kept unburied, were on Monday the 19th

of November dragged on a hurdle to the Market Cross of Edinburgh, where, after being suspended on a gibbet, they were hacked in pieces, and then the two heads were stuck up on the roof of the tolbooth, there to stand, as a contemporary notice expresses it, till the wind should blow them away;* the quarters being in like manner conspicuously elevated in Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Stirling. But the enduring stone memorial never was erected. Gowrie House continued to be the most interesting antiquity in Perth till after the commencement of the present century, when it was pulled down for the sake of some such object as the straightening of a street. And, as for the abolition of the name of Ruthven, Spotswood states that that too was afterwards dispensed with, and such of the persons to whom it belonged as were known to be innocent tolerated by the King's clemency to enjoy their surnames and titles as formerly.†

* *Birrel's Diary.*

† We have an instance of this in the case of Mr. George Ruthven, whose memory has been preserved, along with that of his friend Mr. John Gall, by Henry Adamson's poem, called *The Muses' Threnodie*, or *Gall's Gabions*, first published in 1638, on the recommendation of Drummond of Hawthornden. This George Ruthven, who possessed a collection of antiquarian curiosities, which he called *Gabions* (a word of his own coining), and who spent at least the latter part of his life as a physician and surgeon in Perth, was descended from a branch of the Gowrie family; and he and his friend are made in Adamson's poem to remember the jovial day when Ruthven had been permitted to kiss King James's hand, and was assoiled, or freed, from the guilt of the treason of his unhappy chief (see the *Sixth Muse*, or Part). This was, it seems, on the 15th of April 1601, when James was proclaimed at the Cross Provost of Perth, an honour which, ever since the Reformation, as has been stated above, the affection of their fellow-citizens had reserved almost exclusively for the successive heads of the lately overthrown house (Edition of

The principal stem of the race, nevertheless, was torn up by the root. The utter extinction of the family of the late Earl was insured by the distribution of his patrimony among some of his neighbours, who are alleged to have long had an eye upon his broad and fertile lands. The richest soil in Scotland is that of the Carse of Gowrie. One other Perthshire family was especially fortunate. The destruction of the Ruthvens was the making of the Murrays. Several of the latter were assembled in Perth on the 5th of August at the marriage of one of their name,—"whether of set purpose," says the incredulous, scornful Calderwood, "let the reader judge." The Earl's greatness, this historian affirms, had been a great eyesore to all the Murrays of those parts, the house of Abercairney excepted; and it was reported, he says, that, after the slaughter of the two brothers, the Laird of Tullibardine came to the close, or alley, of Gowrie House, and danced for joy. For this Calderwood has no doubt that, at his present writing, Tullibardine is undergoing appropriate punishment in the other world. "But

Adamson's *Muses' Threnodie* by *Cant*, 8vo, Perth, 1774, vol. I., p. 11). Good Dr. Ruthven seems to have been ever after his fright and his escape, as probably he had always been before, a perfectly loyal gentleman. He was still alive, at the age of ninety-two, when Adamson's poem was first given to the world, and there he is represented as swearing he had rather ten thousand chiefs were killed than his *father*, the King:—

"The King is *Pater Patriæ*; a chief
Ofttimes is born for all his kin's mischief.
And, more, I know was never heart nor hand
Did prosper which that King did ere withstand.
Therefore, good Gall, I pray thee let that pass;
That happy King knew well what man I was."

little cause," he adds, "has he to dance at this hour." John Murray of Tullibardine, who was created Baron Murray in 1604 and Earl of Tullibardine in 1606, and whose grandson became Earl of Atholl, his great-grandson Marquis of Atholl, and his great-great-grandson first Duke of Atholl, got for his eldest son the late Earl's office of Heritable Sheriff of the County of Perth, which the Dukes of Atholl still retain; and for one of his younger sons, Sir Mungo Murray, the Castle and Barony of Ruthven or Huntingtower. At the same time the Abbey and lands of Scone were bestowed upon his relation, Sir David Murray of Balvaird, who in 1605 was made Baron Scone and in 1621 Viscount Stormont, and whose acquisitions have descended to his representative the present Earl of Mansfield.

But it is time now to return to the fortunes of the two youths, the fugitive survivors of the fallen house. On parting from their mother in the hurry and distraction of that Wednesday evening, they directed their steps, accompanied by their tutor, for the English border. There was clearly no safety for them anywhere in Scotland. But, besides that they appear to have travelled on foot, they were probably obliged to make their way with much circumspection. It was not till Sunday, the 10th, that they reached Berwick. We have Sir John Cary, the governor, writing thence on that day to Secretary Cecil as follows:—"The King has made great search, and lays great wait for the two younger brothers, who, by great fortune, escaped from the schools; and, not daring to tarry in Scotland, they

are this day come into Berwick closely [that is, secretly,] in disguised apparel; and, being brought to me, they only desire that their lives may be safe, and [that] they may have a little oversight [protection] here, till the truth of their cause may be known. And the pitiful case of the old distressed good Countess hath made me the willinglier to give my consent for their stay here a while, till I may, by your honourable means, know the Queen's Majesty's pleasure whether they shall stay here or go some whither farther into the country; for they only desire the safety of their lives, and the old Countess's case is pitiful and lamentable." Cary goes on to request earnestly the speediest answer that may be. "The poor gentlemen," he repeats, in conclusion, "stole into the town this morning closely, and I could not well turn them out again, seeing they come for refuge to save their lives, till I know her Majesty's further pleasure therein."

The boys remained concealed in Berwick for nearly a month. On the 24th of August Cary writes again to Cecil, acknowledging an answer, dated the 16th, which he had received to his previous letter, and on the arrival of which he had sent for the tutor of the two young gentlemen. Themselves he had never yet seen; they had not since their coming once "stirred out of their chamber which they first entered into to look abroad." "I conferred with their tutor," he says, "which might be the securest way for their own safety, advising them, for their better security, to go farther off from these bordering places, where the King might not so easily hear of them and their being. I wished

them to repair towards Richmond, or to about Hull, or to some other such inland towns, out of the way, where the King might not so easily have intelligence of them, and so they to be freer from the danger of their countrymen, who are very conversant upon the street-ways. He, liking very well hereof, yielded willingly thereto; desiring only, for that they came very meanly in, without either money, horse, or apparel, to have three or four days respite, that they might send to their friends for money and nags, and such other necessaries as should be fit for their journey; then will they presently depart as secret as may be; and in the meantime they shall remain very close till their necessaries be gotten, which will be within four days."

But their departure could not be managed quite so speedily. They continued in Berwick till the 4th of September. Under that date, Cary writes:—"Before this day I could not by any means get the present Earl of Gowrie and his brother out of the town, for that they had sent to their mother for maintenance and could not hear till now anything from her; and now it falls out so ill with them, as she hath sent them no manner of maintenance, hoping they should have staid here still; neither dares she trust many of her servants, for, if it should be known that she did any manner of way either give them succour or maintenance, or any manner of help, she should presently forfeit and be thrown out of all that she hath. Such secret search and privy spial is there through the whole country for her and her sons, as no friend either dare or can travel between them; such privy search is laid for them in all

places, as almost no man can travel in their country but he is searched. And, if I had sent them sooner away, I should but have sent them to very great danger either of being killed or taken; for that they, being very poor themselves, and having no friends, nor any acquaintance, could neither have told whither to have gone or what to do." Cary, at last, furnished them with some money, and sent them away privately, under the guidance of a servant of his own, to Durham, where they proposed to remain till their mother could arrange some provision for them, and then to repair to Cambridge, there to continue their studies. They had no one with them, he again assures Cecil, except their schoolmaster; and all the time they were in Berwick they had been as in a prison; nobody ever saw them, nor did they ever stir out of their chamber. It would appear, nevertheless, from another letter of Cary's, dated the 21st, that the fact of their having been under his protection had got abroad, and had given rise to reports to his disadvantage, and which much misrepresented both his conduct and that of the unhappy fugitives. In a letter, which appears to have been written towards the end of August, we find Lord Henry Howard mentioning to the Abbot of Kinloss, as a suspicious circumstance, "the gallant maintenance of Gowrie's son, so near to Scotland, and with so great shews, though no man knows from whence, beside Sir John Cary, who is holden to be very inward in that course."* This passage, as Lord Hailes remarks, compared with Cary's letters, may show us that Cecil

* *Cecil Correspondence*, p. 161.

(whose representative, it will be remembered, Lord Henry Howard was in his correspondence with the agents of the Scottish king) "did not disclose everything that he knew to King James." In his letter of the 21st of September, Cary reiterates in strong terms his assurance in regard to the quiet and cautious behaviour of the two boys. "I will assure your honour," he says, "upon my faith, it could not have been better carried, nor closelier handled, by any creatures living, than by them, during their being here; for myself did never see them but once, and that was at midnight, only myself; and, for any other, I know they kept themselves close enough; for they durst do no otherwise, they were so afraid of themselves." What was now become of them, he did not know; he had had no communication whatever with them since they left Berwick, and was not aware whether they had yet got farther than Durham.*

It is probable that they had, along with their tutor, proceeded to Cambridge. There they seem to have remained, pursuing their studies at the University, for about two years, or till within a few months of the death of Elizabeth. But about September 1602 they were induced, it appears, to venture back to their native country. Nicholson, the English agent at the Scottish Court, mentions their return in a letter to Cecil, dated the 22d of that month, adding, "The coming in of these two, and the Queen of Scots

* Cary's letters are printed from the originals in the State Paper Office, by Lord Hailes, in a note to his edition of the *Cecil Correspondence*, pp. 161—166.

dealing with them and sending away and furnishing Mrs. Beatrix [their sister] with such information as Sir Thomas Erskine has given, hath bred great suspicion in the King of Scots that they come not in but upon some dangerous plot." This is only one of several mysterious intimations found in the secret history of this period which seem to attribute to Anne of Denmark a connection with designs hostile not only to the policy, but even in some cases to the person, of her royal husband. Lord Henry Howard, in the same letter in which he mentions what he describes as "the gallant maintenance of Gowrie's son" under the protection of Cary, goes on to state, as a further piece of information for James, that the Master of Gray had had a long conference with Queen Anne, since which time his style had assumed a very lofty or vaunting character—was "heaved up *cothurno altiore*, as Cicero said of Anthony," is his rhetorical lordship's expression. "Divers," he adds, "of Gowrie's nearest and dearest friends have secret access to persons of great quality; they keep old issues open, and feed spleen against all those that are employed and trusted in the courses of the present state, which the King's wisdom tempereth." Winwood, again, writing to Cecil from Paris on the 17th of May 1601, states that the ambassador of Scotland at the French Court had just been advertised of a dangerous practice against the King his master, one Glarnet having been lately sent from Scotland with letters to Bothwell (that is, Francis Stewart, the first Earl of Bothwell of that name, then an exile in France for a long course of treasonable

conduct), calling upon him to lose no time in hastening home, where he should find sufficient assistance: "The principal person," adds Winwood, "who employed this party is the Queen of Scotland; and letters have been intercepted out of Scotland from Mr. Gray, that the death of Gowrie should shortly be revenged."*

On the 1st of January 1603 Nicholson writes again to Cecil from Edinburgh: "The day of writing my last, Mistress Beatrix Ruthven was brought by the Lady Paisley and Mistress of Angers, as one of their gentlewomen, into the court in the evening, and stowed in a chamber prepared for her by the Queen's direction, where the Queen had much time and conference with her. Of this the King got notice, and showed his dislike thereto to the Queen, gently reproving her for it, and examining quietly of the Queen's servants of the same, and of other matters thereunto belonging, with such discretion and secresy as requires such a matter."† Beatrix Ruthven had, no doubt, been driven from her place at court in the general ruin that had overwhelmed her family. From these letters of Nicholson's, however, it would appear that Queen Anne still remembered the sister of Alexander Ruthven with interest and regard. Whether Beatrix's two surviving brothers, who had returned to Scotland about three months before this time, were still there, or whether their case was the subject of the present

* *Memorials*, I. 326.

† These extracts from Nicholson's Letters, the originals of which are in the State Paper Office, are given by Robertson in a note to his *History of Scotland*, III. 158 (*edit.* of 1818).

conference between their sister and her Majesty, we are not informed.

William, the elder of the two, whom Cary, as we have seen, in September 1600 styles Earl of Gowrie, had had that title formally taken from him after he had borne it only about three months. Indeed, it was declared by the Act of Parliament which attainted his two elder brothers that the title never had fallen to him, that it had expired with the death of the late Earl. William Ruthven is stated to have gone abroad, and to have become famous for his knowledge of chemistry.* Burnet says it was given out that he had the philosopher's stone.† A turn for the study of natural science was hereditary in the Ruthvens. In the official narrative, entitled *A Discourse of the Unnatural and Vile Conspiracy*, published soon after the tragedy of the 5th of August, the practice of magic is declared to be "an infamy which hath followed and spotted the race of this house for many descents, as is notoriously known to the whole country." Patrick Lord Ruthven, the learned assassin of Rizzio, relates an anecdote in his own history of the assassination, which implies not only that he had the reputation of dealing in the supernatural, but that he would himself upon occasion encourage and take advantage of the belief in his forbidden knowledge. He had once, it seems, presented Mary Stuart with a diamond ring, which he told her had the virtue of preserving her from poison; and the Earl of Murray, either feeling or affecting a horror at such a recognition of the powers of darkness and employment of their

* *Wood's Douglas*, I. 663.

† *Own Time*, I. 19.

services, would have had her Majesty bring him into question on that account. We have seen what Spotswood says of his son, the first Earl of Gowrie, whose magical reputation, it has been remarked, seems to be also indicated by his popular name of *Gray Steel,* the original bearer of which, the hero of the old romance, was plainly a personage of more than mortal powers. And Earl John, the conspirator, was probably as curious a student of the secrets of nature as either his father or his grandfather. It was one of the imputations by which it was sought to blacken his memory, that he had been a dabbler in magic. The official narrative of the conspiracy states, that, when his pockets were searched immediately after his death, there was found in them "a little close parchment bag, full of magical characters and words of enchantment, wherein it seemed that he had put his confidence, thinking himself never safe without them, and therefore ever carried them about with him." The evidence of the Earl's most intimate friends proved how fond he had been of all sorts of mystical speculations. The paper of strange characters which was found in his pocket had been seen for the first time by his tutor, Master William Rhynd, who had been with him in Italy, when he returned to his pupil at Padua from a visit he had made by himself to Venice. The mysterious hieroglyphics gave Rhynd a good deal of uneasiness. When he would sometimes get hold of the paper, and anxiously asked the Earl for what purpose he kept it about him, the only answer he got was, "Can you not let it be? It will do you no harm."

Sometimes my lord, in leaving his chamber, would forget the characters, in which case he would turn back, and eagerly search about till he found them, and got them once more into his pocket. Rhynd was so troubled in his mind about the matter that he several times intended to have burned the characters, and was only deterred by apprehension of his pupil's wrath and anger; for, if at any time he took them out of the Earl's pocket, my lord, he says, would be in such a rage with him, that for a certain space he would not speak with him, nor could the unhappy tutor by any means regain his good countenance. In Rhynd's opinion, my lord never was at ease if he had not the characters about him to the hour of his death. And he was constrained to believe that he kept them for no good. The talismanic words or letters, it seems, were partly Latin, partly Hebrew, and were all in the Earl's own handwriting. Indeed, he told Rhynd that he had copied them himself.

William Ruthven a fancied Earl for three months, after that only a chymist and philosopher, appears to have spent the rest of his life abroad. Patrick, the youngest of the five brothers, has a history a little longer. It was probably immediately or very soon after the accession of James to the English throne, that he was apprehended and consigned to the Tower, and it may have been about the same time that his elder brother made his escape to the Continent. Patrick, thus deprived of that which makes the life of life at the commencement of manhood, remained a prisoner till he

must have reached middle age. Calderwood chronicles his being let out of the Tower in August 1619, "after he had been detained there many years for the treason alleged attempted by his brother the Earl of Gowrie." It so happens that the death of Queen Anne had taken place in the preceding May.

It is said that he now took the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and commenced practice as a physician. Probably the latest notice we have of him is in the *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, where, after it has been stated that he was imprisoned in the first instance by the parliament (which possibly may have been the case), and that he was kept in the Tower till he was restored to liberty by King Charles (which we know is not true), we are told that that King further bestowed upon him a small pension, which kept him like a gentleman down to the commencement of the Civil War; "but now failing," adds the account, "he walks the streets, poor, but well experienced also in chymical physic and in other parts of learning." This is one of the passages added (probably by Sir William Sanderson) to Bishop Goodman's manuscript (on which the work is chiefly based), and it may have been written not long before 1651, the year in which the *Aulicus Coquinariæ* was published. Dr. Ruthven, it is to be feared, did not live to witness the Restoration. A singular existence his had been! Whether he came into the world immediately before or immediately after his father's sudden destruction, and the first overthrow of his high and ancient house, that storm must have howled and darkened around his infant slumbers. He was still only in early boyhood

when his family, after being restored to its possessions and honours, was again struck down, by a still more sudden fate, to rise no more. The summer of his life was spent in the gloom of a prison. When he was at length permitted to recross the threshold of the Tower at the age of five or six-and-thirty, his schoolboy days, cut short as they had been, constituted the only period of what we may call a natural existence that he had yet known. Commencing the battle of active life at so late an age, and under so many other disadvantages, it is not likely that he met with much success as a medical practitioner. Yet, with the aid of his pension, a term of years might glide away tranquilly to the metamorphosed man, of somewhat longer extent than either his free and happy boyhood or the dark and weary time that followed. But he was destined to be the sport of fortune to the end; once more the tempest suddenly rose and enveloped him in his old age; and the last of the Ruthvens, born an Earl's son, probably died a beggar.

He had married, however, after he was let out of the Tower, and he is said to have had two sons, who died without issue, as well as a daughter, through whom the old nobility of the house of Ruthven, or at least the memory of it, was blended with another kind of greatness. Maria Ruthven was brought up at court in the suite of Queen Henrietta, and, turning out a great beauty, was given in marriage by Charles the First to Vandyck, the famous painter. This was in 1640. There is a portrait of her by her illustrious husband now at Hagley Park, the seat of Lord Lyttelton. By Vandyck, who died in about a year and a half, at the age

of forty-three, she had a daughter Anna Justina, who became the wife of Sir John Stepney, Baronet. Their posterity subsisted down to our own day; the last male descendant of Vandyck and Maria Ruthven, Sir Thomas Stepney, of Prendergast, in Pembrokeshire, died only in 1825.* After Vandyck's death his widow married Sir John Pryse, Baronet; but by him she had no family.

After the extinction of the Earldom of Gowrie the nobility of the Ruthvens was revived in two several branches of the family, one of which still subsists.

William, the first of the old Barons Ruthven, besides a son, William, styled the Master of Ruthven, who was killed at Flodden and was the father of the second Baron, had by a second wife another son also named William;† and his son, of the same name, was the father of Patrick Ruthven, whom Charles the First made Lord Ruthven of Ettrick in 1639, and Earl of Forth in 1642, in the Scottish Peerage, and finally in 1644 Earl of Brentford in that of England. He was one of the most eminent military men of the first half of the seventeenth century; having first served for many years under Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Livonia, Lithuania, Poland, Prussia, and Germany (to take Dugdale's enumeration), and

* His widow is the authoress of *The Three Peers* and other works of fiction.

† Such, at least, is the account given in *Wood's Douglas*, at Vol. I. p. 660. But quite a different account is given in the same volume at p. 605. The editor rarely troubles himself to explain or even to notice such discrepancies in his work.

afterwards on the royal side in our own Civil War. After the loss of the Earl of Lindsay at Edgehill, the Earl of Forth, who had previously held the appointment of Field Marshal of the Forces, was declared by his Majesty General in Chief. It was in commemoration of his repulse of Essex at Brentford, about three weeks after this, that he received his English title. Clarendon, however, does not picture him as very efficient. "The General," he says, "though he had been without doubt a very good officer, and had great experience, and was still a man of unquestionable courage and integrity, yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous, he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a man of few words and of great compliance, and usually delivered that as his opinion which he foresaw would be grateful to the King." Afterwards he adds a few more lines to the portrait, describing him as from his age and his deafness hardly conceiving what was proposed in council, and as delivering his opinion in a manner correspondingly confused and obscure; although he allows that he could judge better by his eye than by his ear, and in the field well knew what was to be done. In another place he speaks of him as kind-hearted and just, but as not without his jealousies, and as being an ill treasurer of secrets. Yet the noble

historian does not say it was when in his cups that Ruthven (or Ruthen, as he writes the name) was apt to let his tongue betray him. He was in fact renowned for his retentiveness when in that condition. It is related that when his first master, Gustavus, gave an entertainment to any person whose inmost thoughts he wished to extract, he used to make Ruthven what he called Field Marshal of the Bottles, seeing that the Scotsman could drink to any extent and keep his understanding unshaken. His indefinite power of imbibing is affirmed to have won him the regard of the Swedish monarch as much as his bravery and fighting talent. The Earl of Brentford, and not his relation the other Patrick Ruthven, has been sometimes assumed to be the writer of the letter to the Earl of Northumberland;* but Clarendon could scarcely have been so far mis-informed as to mistake the author of that composition for a person utterly or grossly illiterate. Besides, what the writer of the letter says of himself, of his being a prisoner, and of his actions, words, and behaviour being continually subject to the censure of a whole state, will not suit any thing that is told us of Brentford. The two Patrick Ruthvens, however, were contemporaries. The Earl of Brentford is stated to have been of an advanced age when he died at Dundee, in January 1651; so that he was probably some years older than the other Patrick when the Gowrie conspiracy blew them all in the air. It may have been that catastrophe that first sent him abroad, at the age perhaps of twenty or a little more. He left three

* *Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, II. 177.

daughters, all of whom got married, and two of whom had issue, but no son, so that his titles all died with him.

The old Scottish title of Lord Ruthven, however, was immediately revived with a third variation. William, second Lord Ruthven, besides his successor Patrick third Lord, the assassin of Rizzio, had a younger son Alexander, upon whom he bestowed the lands of Freeland in Perthshire. This Alexander Ruthven of Freeland had three sons, of whom the two younger, Henry and Alexander, were both attainted in 1600 as having been parties to the conspiracy of their chief and near relation the Earl of Gowrie; but the eldest, William, had kept clear of that wild attempt, and his son, previously known as Sir Thomas Ruthven of Freeland, and distinguished as a leader of the Presbyterian party, was in 1651, the same year in which the Earl of Brentford died, created a peer of Scotland by Charles the Second with the title of Baron Ruthven of Freeland. It is understood that the honour was made descendible to his heirs general; but the patent was consumed in a fire which burnt down the house of Freeland about a hundred years ago. The present peer, at any rate, who is the sixth Lord Ruthven, derives through a female; David the second Lord, the only son of the first Lord, died without issue in 1701, when he was succeeded by Isabel, daughter of his eldest sister Elizabeth, who had married her relation Sir Francis Ruthven of Redcastle. Isabel, Baroness Ruthven, married Colonel James Johnston of Gratnay, but her son James the third Lord, of whom the present

peer is the great-grandson, resumed his mother's family name.

The studious and scientific propensities of the Ruthvens took a curious turn in this branch of the family. In 1657 was published, "The Ladies' Cabinet, enlarged and opened; containing many rare secrets and rich ornaments, of several kinds and different uses, comprised under three general heads;—1. Of Preserving, Conserving, Candying, &c.; 2. Physic and Chirurgery; 3. Cookery and Housewifery. Whereunto is added sundry Experiments, and choice Extractions of Waters, Oils, &c. Collected and published by the learned chymist the Lord Ruthven." The work was so well received as to reach a fourth edition in 1667. Its author was the first Lord Ruthven of Freeland, who survived till 1673. The subjects to which his lordship appears to have devoted himself are some of them, it must be confessed, strange for either a nobleman or an enthusiastic Covenanter; but at any rate they were not likely to revive the old popular reputation which the family used to enjoy of being addicted to studies and speculations of too high and mysterious an order.

THE LAST LORD COBHAM.

ANOTHER of the Earl of Northumberland's fellow prisoners in the Tower, in whom he may be supposed to have taken some interest, was his old friend of the "triplicity," Henry Brook Lord Cobham. Both he and Raleigh had been there, as has been already mentioned, since 1603; so that, when Northumberland joined them in 1605, the confederacy of the years 1601 and 1602 was again complete.

The Cobhams were already seated on their domain of Cobham in Kent—from which they took their name, or which, perhaps, got its name from them—at least by the beginning of the thirteenth century; and from not long after the beginning of the fourteenth, if not from an earlier date, they and their successors had been recognised as Barons of the realm; Henry de Cobham, the first of them who is recorded to have had that distinction, having been summoned to Parliament from the 6th year of Edward the Second, or A. D. 1313. The account of the descent of this Henry in Dugdale is unintelligible; but the brothers, Ralph de Cobham, who was summoned to Parliament in 1324, and Stephen de Cobham, or de Rundell, who had the same honour in 1326, were his near relations; as was also Reginald

de Cobham, who was in like manner made Baron of Sterborough, in Surrey, in 1342.

Four peerages, it thus appears, were conferred upon different members of the family within the space of thirty years. Those of the two brothers Ralph and Stephen, however, terminated with their own lives; in the irregular practice as to such matters which then prevailed, their descendants had no summons to the great council of the nation, although Stephen is expressly stated to have left a son. Nor were any more than two Lords Cobham of Sterborough ever summoned to Parliament, although their descendants continued in the male line for several generations, and the son of the second is commonly designated by the title that had been borne by his father and grandfather. He was the father of the beautiful Eleanor de Cobham, first the mistress, then the wife, of Humphrey Duke of Glocester, younger brother of King Henry the Fifth, and Regent or Protector of the kingdom in the minority of his nephew, Henry the Sixth. We may turn aside for a few moments to the story of her and her husband, which is among the strangest in our annals.

Glocester is one of those popular idols, for whom some shining qualities, and the consecration of what has been deemed an undeserved death, have made a traditionary reputation, which very much fades in the daylight of facts. At the dawn of the new opinions in religion, and when the anti-ecclesiastical spirit began to ferment, which after one century produced the Reformation, and after another the overthrow of the Church altogether, he had the luck to be personally

opposed to the pretensions of the clergy by his rivalry and contest for the supremacy in the state with his uncle the Cardinal Beaufort. He was, moreover, the great patron of learning and literature in his day. His praise was, therefore, naturally sounded by the writing men of his own time; and in a succeeding age it came to be fashionable to look back upon him as a sort of religious martyr. His domestic history is a curious commentary upon his pretensions to that character. First, about the year 1423, we have him marrying the notorious Jacqueline Duchess of Hainault, formerly the wife of John Dauphin of France, now that of John Duke of Brabant, from whom she had run away; so that the lady, not contented with a mere succession of matrimonial connexions, "had," as honest John Stowe puts it, "two husbands alive at once, Brabant and Glocester, a thing thought unreasonable, both against God, the world, and the Church, for she had been four or five years in company with the Duke of Brabant, but there had fallen some variance betwixt them." This alliance Glocester contracted in defiance of the strongest public considerations, as well as of morality and decency; it had a principal share in bringing about the ruin of the English affairs in France. Jacqueline and he, nevertheless, did not remain long together. Death removed her other husband in 1426; but, in about two years after, Glocester "began," as Stowe says, "to be weary of her, by whom he never had profit, but loss, and took to his wife, by a second marriage, Eleanor Cobham, daughter to the Lord Cobham of Sterborough, which

before was his wanton paramour, to his great reproach, as was then noted." Dame Eleanor (as she was styled), had, in fact, passed through the hands of various other lovers before she fell into those of Duke Humphrey. Jacqueline, on her part, now married a private gentleman, Frank of Bursellen; she soon after lost nearly all her dominions; and she died in 1436, leaving no issue by any of her four husbands. Eleanor Cobham maintained her place as Duchess of Glocester for some years longer. At last, in June 1441, one of the Duke's chaplains, Roger Bolingbroke, whom Stowe calls a great astronomer, and Thomas Southwell, a canon of Westminster, were apprehended on a charge of conspiring to bring about the death of the King by necromancy; on Sunday, the 25th of July, Bolingbroke was compelled to do penance in St. Paul's Church-yard on a high scaffold erected in front of the cross; and on the Tuesday night following the Duchess secretly left her husband's house, and fled to the Sanctuary at Westminster. It was immediately concluded, as it had probably been strongly suspected before, that she was involved in Bolingbroke's treason. He, being examined before the Council, "confessed," proceeds the chronicler, "that he wrought the said necromancy at the stirring and procurement of the said Dame Eleanor, to know what should befall of her, and to what estate she should come." He afterwards repeated this statement in her presence; on which she was committed to the castle of Leeds. Meanwhile, "there was taken also," says Stowe, "Margery Gurdemaine, a witch of Eye, in Suffolk, whose sorcery and witchcraft the said Eleanor

had long time used, and by her medicines and drinks enforced the Duke of Glocester to love her, and after to wed her; wherefore, and for cause of relapse, the same witch was brent in Smithfield, on the 27th of October." The Duchess was treated more mercifully. Being brought up on the 21st of October before the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Norwich, in St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, and certain charges of sorcery and necromancy objected to her, "some she denied, and some she granted." Two days after, she appeared again, when evidence was produced, and she was declared guilty; "then was it asked if she would say anything against the witnesses; whereunto she answered nay, but submitted herself." On the 27th she abjured the articles; on the 9th of November she appeared before Archbishop Chicheley, and received her penance; and on Monday, the 13th, she commenced the performance of it. That day, we are told, "she came from Westminster by water, and landed at the Temple bridge, from whence, with a taper of wax of two pound in her hand, she went through Fleet-street, hoodless, save a kerchief, to Paul's, where she offered her taper at the high altar. On the Wednesday next, she landed at the Swan in Thames-street, and then went through Bridge-street, Gracechurch-street, straight to Leadenhall, and so to Christchurch by Aldgate. On Friday, she landed at Queenhive, and so went through Cheap, to St. Michael's in Cornhill, in form aforesaid. At all which times the Mayor, Sheriffs, and crafts of London received her and accompanied her." A strange intermixture of and attempt to reconcile their horror of

sorcery with their reverence for station, on the part of the worthy citizens. And to think of all this happening to the wife of the first prince of the blood, and of one who still was and continued for some time after this to be one of the principal persons in the government! Her conviction seems to have been held to degrade Eleanor from her rank as the Duke's wife, or, in other words, to dissolve their marriage; henceforth, when she is spoken of, she is described as "Eleanor Cobham, lately called Duchess of Glocester." Perhaps it was considered that the marriage, having been brought about by sorcery, had been unlawful and null from the beginning. And, looking to the whole affair, one might suspect that Duke Humphrey had begun to grow as weary of his second wife as he had been of his first, before matters could have come to such a pass. On the Saturday of the week in which Eleanor performed her penance, Bolingbroke, the Duke's chaplain, was hanged and quartered at Tyburn. The degraded Duchess had an allowance of a hundred marks a year assigned to her, and spent the rest of her life in confinement, first in the castle of Chester, latterly in that of Kenilworth. She survived her husband. He was arrested on a charge of high treason, while attending the Parliament at Bury St. Edmond's, on the 11th of February 1447, and, having been placed under guard at his lodging in the Hospital there, was, on the 28th of the same month, found dead in his bed. It is most probable that he died a natural death, though the belief that he had been murdered became of course the popular theory. Thirty-two of his principal servants

were immediately taken up, and five of them, being brought to trial, were found guilty of having been accomplices in his treason. They "were all five," Stowe records, "drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn, and there hanged, letten down quick [that is, while they were alive], stript naked, marked with a knife for to be quartered, and then a charter showed for their lives by the Duke of Suffolk; but the yeoman of the Crown had their livelode [livelihood, or property], and the hangman had their clothes, or wearing apparel. The pardon for their lives was obtained through the earnest suit and labour of Mr. Gilbert Worthington, then parson of St. Andrew's, in Holborn, a Doctor of Divinity, a famous man, and a great preacher in those days. Thomas Wilde, of Greenwich, Esquire, serving the said Duke, being, amongst others, pardoned, the course of his pardon in the patent runneth to this effect, for, being amongst many other traitors against the King, with Humphrey Duke of Glocester, they went about and practised to deliver Eleanor, late wife to the Duke, from out of prison, and gathered a great power and number of men to come to the Parliament at Bury, and there to have practised the destruction of the King." What proof was produced of all this, or of any part of it, is not known.

A short time before this the original line of the Lords Cobham of Kent, the only one of the four branches of the house that retained its nobility, had been decorated by a personage who has become still more famous as a national champion than his contemporary Duke Humphrey. The second of

these Barons, John Lord Cobham, built the Castle of Cowling, now in ruins, and also founded the hospital, called the College, which still subsists in the village of Cobham, affording a dwelling and maintenance to twenty poor persons and their families selected from that and the surrounding parishes. He died in 1407, leaving, by a daughter Joan, only a granddaughter of the same name, who was by this time married to her third husband, Sir John Oldcastle, the celebrated Lollard. Oldcastle was soon after summoned to Parliament in right of his wife's barony, and from that time he appears to have been commonly known as the Lord Cobham. He kept quiet enough for the rest of the reign of Henry the Fourth. He was only known then, indeed, as one of the most intimate companions of the wild Prince of Wales. His taking to religion, or heresy, appears to have been not long antecedent to his friend's accession to the throne. Henry, whose own reformation of manners did not comprehend any change of creed, is said to have broken with and dismissed his old associate some time before his coronation on discovering or being led to suspect the turn his mind had taken. For at first Oldcastle seems to have endeavoured to conceal his opinions. The enthusiastic party with which he had connected himself, however, excited to the highest hopes by having got him for their head—for, as Stowe observes, after Walsingham, "this John was a strong man, and a meetly good man of war"—speedily brought matters to a crisis. One day, while the Parliament was still sitting, papers appeared nailed on the doors of all the principal London churches

announcing that, if any attempt should be made by the government to put down Lollardism, there were a hundred thousand men ready to rise in arms against such an act of oppression. On an investigation being instituted, it was soon found that the secret head of the threatened insurrection was the Lord of Cobham. This was in the summer of 1413. Oldcastle now shut himself up in his castle of Cowling; but, a military force being sent against him, he was obliged to surrender himself, and was forthwith sent to the Tower. He was not long, however, in escaping from his prison; he made his way over the walls one night about the end of October. From this time Oldcastle and his followers must be considered to have been in actual rebellion. Their first design appears to have been to fall suddenly upon the King as he was keeping his Christmas at Eltham; this having failed, it was resolved to assemble in open force, and set the royal power at defiance, in St. Giles's Field near London, on the morrow after Epiphany. But Henry was beforehand with them. The first parties that arrived of the expected five-and-twenty thousand revolutionists, early on the dark morning of that 7th of January 1414, found his Majesty already posted on the ground at the head of a body of troops; he had taken his station a little after midnight; and they, and all the other bands that successively came up had nothing for it, but, without drawing a sword, to lay down their arms or take to flight. Many of the captains and others who were taken were afterwards executed; their leader, however, escaped. "The King," says Stowe, "by

proclamation promised to whomsoever could bring him forth a thousand marks, besides liberties to the cities and towns that would disclose him, but there was not one found that would detect him, so greatly was he favoured." It was not till nearly four years after this that Oldcastle was taken. During all that time he had remained in concealment; but at last, towards the end of the year 1418, while King Henry was abroad in France, he suddenly appeared at the head of a force in the neighbourhood of the capital. The easy defeat, however, of a Scottish inroad, which he had calculated would give him his opportunity of striking a successful blow, compelled him to retreat before he had done any thing. But, having retired to the Marches of Wales, he was there taken on the territory of the Lord Powis, — "not without danger and hurt of some that took him," says Stowe, "neither could he himself be taken before he was wounded." The Parliament was sitting, and the Commons immediately petitioned that "the public enemy" should be brought before it. "Wherefore," continues the old chronicler, "the Lord of Powis was sent to fetch him up with power, who brought him to London in a litter, wounded, and also a clerk with him, that was of counsel in all his secrets. As soon as the said Sir John Oldcastle was brought into the Parliament before the Duke of Bedford, Regent and Governor of the Realm, and the other estates, his indictment was read before him, of his forcible insurrection against the King in St. Giles's Field, and other treasons by him committed; the question was asked how he would excuse himself, and show

why he should not be doomed to die; but he, seeking other talk, began to preach of the mercies of God, and that all mortal men that would be followers of God ought to prefer mercy above judgment, and that vengeance pertained only to the Lord, and ought not to be practised by them that worship God, but to be left to God alone, with many other words to detract the time; until the Chief Justice admonished the Regent not to suffer him to spend the time so vainly in molesting of the nobles of the realm; whereupon the Earl of Bedford, Regent, commanded him to answer formally unto the matter laid to his charge. The said Sir John being thus urged, at the last, after deliberation taken, he said, 'It is the least thing that I account of to be judged by you as of man's judgment;' and again he began to talk, but nothing to the purpose; until the Chief Justice commanded him again to answer finally, and to inform them, if he could, why he should not suffer death. To the which he stoutly answered, that he had no judge amongst them, so long as his liege lord King Richard was alive and in the realm of Scotland. Which answer when he had made, because there needed no further witness, he was commanded to be drawn and hanged upon a gallows, and to be burned hanging upon the same; which judgment was executed upon him on the 14th day of December in St. Giles's Field. Where, when many honourable persons were present, the last words that he spake was to Sir Thomas of Erpingham, adjuring him, that, if he saw him rise from death to life again the third day, he would procure that his sect might be in peace and

quiet. He was hanged by the neck in a chain of iron, and after consumed with fire."

Oldcastle, it thus appears, was really put to death for treason, and that on the most conclusive evidence. Stowe's narrative is drawn from the contemporary accounts, and is supported by the record of the proceedings of Parliament. It is in vain, in the face of such evidence, for John Fox, writing more than a century and a half after the time in which his hero lived, to attempt, as he does through some fifty or sixty of his ample columns, to make out Oldcastle to have been the most loyal of subjects by mere general argumentation about probabilities, in which nothing is so clear as the determination of the worthy Martyrologist to believe nothing on the one side of the question and everything on the other. The good Lord Cobham, as Fox calls him, may be entitled to be reckoned among the martyrs of the reformed faith; but it seems to be impossible to refuse to admit his claim to be accounted also a very zealous, though unfortunate, civil reformer. Even the hostile accounts of him allow his remarkable logical sharpness and eloquence; these are the faculties that, united with either strong convictions or an impatient ambition, make bold speculators and disturbers of established systems. At the last it looks as if his reason had a little given way under his misfortunes, and his ardent and excitable temperament. But the strangest part of the fate of the great religious champion is the mythic transformation that he had undergone by the time the tradition of him was a few generations old. As if all the latter part of his

career had been forgotten, Sir John Oldcastle figures in the popular drama of the sixteenth century as only a buffoon familiar of the wild Prince. Such is the part he sustains in the old play of *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, where he goes by the name of *Jockey*. It seems to have been not till a later date, when Puritanism had come up, that he was presented in his higher character, as he is in the piece called *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, which was produced in the last year of the century. Meanwhile the jesting knight of the popular stage, there is every reason to believe, had received another kind of elevation, and been glorified and made immortal by the prince of dramatists as the prince of knights and of jesters; for Sir John Oldcastle appears to have been the original name for which was ultimately substituted that of Sir John Falstaff.

How long Joan Baroness Cobham, who married Oldcastle, lived, or whether she survived her third husband, is not recorded. The next Lord Cobham was her grandson, Edward Brooke, son of a daughter Joan, whom she had borne to her first (another account says her second) husband, Sir Reginald Braybrooke, and who had married a Sir Thomas Brooke. The succeeding Lords Cobham were all Brookes; there were five of them in regular sequence from father to son, the last, Henry Lord Cobham, having succeeded his father in 1597.

None of these Brookes Lords Cobham had been men of much note; but they had all escaped forfeiture, and the family had augmented its old possessions in the

course of the century and a half of convulsions and changes in which so many other noble families had been ruined. Lord William, the father of Henry, was one of those who had got into trouble in the affair of the marriage projected between Mary Stuart and the Duke of Norfolk in 1571; both he and a younger brother had been sent to the Tower; but they got out, with the rest, upon telling all they knew; and the Lord Cobham afterwards followed the profession of a courtier with good success. At the time of his death he was in the enjoyment of several honourable and lucrative offices. "My Lord Cobham," Rowland White writes to Sidney on the 21st of February 1597, "is ill indeed, and much fallen away; and now, as I hear, his son Mr. Harry comes daily to the Queen, and the father is willing to make resignation of such places he holds by the Queen to his sons, especially of the Cinque Ports." This is a characteristic first appearance of *Mr. Harry*. A keen competition for this post of Warden of the Cinque Ports sprung up between him and Sir Robert Sidney, the latter supported by the Essex interest. But Cobham was eventually successful. On the 1st of March White reports that he had been assured that Cobham would carry it away from all, for both his own favour with her Majesty was great and his friends were in greatness and authority at Court; his informer was of opinion that nobody would or durst speak against his appointment, unless it might be the Earl of Essex. White adds, "My Lord Chamberlain [that is, old Cobham] doth bequeath to his eldest son 3,000*l.* a year land, and 10,000*l.* in goods." He died on the

night of Saturday, the 5th of March.* On the 7th White writes, "It was told me very secretly to-day that the now Lord Cobham shall marry Mrs. Russell of the Privy Chamber." This was, apparently, Anne, daughter of the deceased John Lord Russell, second son of Francis second Earl of Bedford. On the 16th, however, we have the industrious news-collector reporting, "I am credibly informed that the Lord Cobham, who shall marry my Lord Oxford's daughter, hearing how disdainfully my Lord of Essex speaks of him in public, doth likewise protest to hate the Earl as much." The lady here alluded to was, I suppose, the Lady Susan de Vere, third and youngest daughter of Edward seventeenth Earl of Oxford, who, a few years after this, became the wife of Philip Herbert Earl of Montgomery, as despicable a character as Cobham himself. Elizabeth kept the appointment to the Cinque Ports suspended for nearly three months; but it is probable that her mind had from the first been made up to give it to Cobham. Whether it was mere ill humour on his part, or that he knew how best to bring her Majesty to terms, he at last gave up making further suit for it, and took himself off to the country. When Cecil was asked about the end of May if he had got the office, "No," he replied; "and doth he think to have anything by this course he takes of absenting himself from Court?"† On the 2d of June, however, we have White writing to his patron, Cobham's rival, as follows: "Upon Sunday last my Lord Cobham was at Court. The Queen had long speech with him, and

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 25. † *Id.* 53.

told him that he should be Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; his patent is a drawing; and of herself asked him if he had not the lease she writ her letter for to Dr. Bennet when he was but Henry Brooke. He answered No, and that Bennet did but dally with him. Her Majesty called Mr. Secretary unto her, and commanded him to signify her pleasure to Bennet, for she would have it done. Roger Manners tells me, that my Lord Cobham made his complaint to the Queen that my Lord Essex's anger to him grew by doing of her service, and by obeying her commandments, and therefore he was assured that she would protect him and grace him. Her Majesty bid him not doubt of it, and that no man should wrong him." About a month before this the vigilant and zealous agent had expressed his apprehension that his master had injured himself with her Majesty by his opposition to Cobham, "whereby," he remarked, "appears the power he hath with the Queen to pleasure and hurt."*

Cobham would seem to have been found about this time very attractive by various ladies. A few months after this we find it rumoured that, instead of Lady Susan Vere, he is about to marry "Spencer's daughter, and have with her £12,000."† This was apparently the daughter of the rich alderman, Sir John Spencer, who became the wife of the second Lord Compton, and brought him so great a fortune. But the most passionate of his admirers was a niece of our old acquaintance Douglas Lady Sheffield, one of the daughters of her brother the first Earl of Nottingham, originally the

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 46. † *Id.* 95.

Lady Frances Howard, now the widow of Henry Fitzgerald twelfth Earl of Kildare (in the Irish peerage), whom she had buried in August 1597. There appears to have been for some time a rivalry between her and a Mrs. Ratcliffe, one of the maids of honour. "Mrs. Ratcliffe," White writes from Nonsuch, on the 18th of August 1599," hath kept her chamber these four days, being somewhat troubled at my Lady Kildare's unkind using of her, which is thought to proceed from her love to my Lord Cobham." Lady Kildare seems to have been one of the ladies of the bedchamber, or to have held some other such office about the Court. But perhaps it may be doubted whether it was Cobham about whom the fair Mrs. Ratcliffe was so much absorbed, only three or four months before this, when our faithful chronicler thus records:—"Yesterday did Mrs. Ratcliffe wear a white satin gown, all embroidered, richly cut upon good cloth of silver, that cost £180. But the fairest doth take pleasure in nothing since the departure of her beloved. 'Her garments, her countenance, and gestures witness no less; besides a kind of unwonted solitariness which is familiar unto her."* However this may be, Lady Kildare soon got rid of her competitor: "Mrs. Ratcliffe, the honourable maid of honour," White writes on the 13th of November, "died, at Mrs. Kirkcom's house in Richmond, upon Sunday last: she is much lamented;" and then at the end of the same letter he subjoins:—"Now that Mrs. Ratcliffe is dead, the Lady Kildare hopes that my Lord Cobham will proceed on his suit to her." He states

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 48.

this as if it had been communicated to him by Lady Kildare herself, or by some one who had her authority for saying so. She was in some haste with the announcement of her improved prospects or expectations. A few weeks later, on the 6th of December, he informs Sidney that it is verily believed that "her Majesty will assure Lord Cobham to the Lady Kildare" upon the removal of the court from Whitehall, which is to be on the following day. But in his next letter, written only two days later, speaking of her ladyship's father, who was Lord Admiral, and whose support Sidney was anxious to obtain to his request for leave of absence from his government at Flushing, he says: "He is full of his own business; for Lord Cobham makes him believe he will have one and Sir Robert Cecil will have his other daughter; yet I see no likelihood in either." Nevertheless, about a month afterwards, we have him reporting that the Queen "hath dealt with the Lord Cobham about the marrying of the Lady Kildare, so that it is in a sort held as good as concluded."*

Her ladyship, however, had still to wait a little longer. Cobham was evidently far from being so much in a hurry as she was. On the 25th of February 1600 White writes:—"My Lord Cobham hath wrenched his foot, and is not for the pains able to come abroad; which so much troubles the Lady Kildare, that upon Saturday, hearing Sir Walter Raleigh was newly come to court from him, just when the Queen's diet was sent for, she sent for him to come unto her in all haste,

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 158.

else the well carving of the Queen's meat would be marredfor that day. *Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.* She wishes an end in it, but it seems he finds delay for it." His lordship was confined with his accident for some weeks; the foot, it was said, had been found to be out of joint.* About the middle of March, while he still lay immoveable, it was reported that he was married, and that the fact would very shortly be published;† but this turned out not to be the case. About a month later all that White can say is, that he understands he is "engaged in the matter of contract with my Lady Kildare," and that the Queen is acquainted with it; "but," he adds, "ere he will marry he looks that her Majesty will bestow some thing upon her, and he desires it may be land in exchange."‡ Two or three months more pass apparently without any progress being made in the business. Then we learn that my Lord Cobham is off with Sir Walter Raleigh to the wars in the Netherlands, leaving the enamoured lady quite disconsolate. This news White communicates on the 12th of July. "My Lady Kildare," he says, "took it very heavily, and kept her chamber the first day he went." His lordship came back, however, in a week or two; and at last my Lady Kildare seems really to have been made happy. "It is credibly said, though it be very secret, that my Lord Cobham is married to my Lady Kildare," is White's communication to his master from Nonsuch on the 23d of August. "I do wish," he adds, "that there were a reconciliation between you, as he is now allied where you receive much love and kindness."

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 181. † *Id.* 180. ‡ *Id.* 187.

Her ladyship had always professed great regard for Sidney. About a year before this, while the soreness of feeling left on both sides by the contest about the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports was yet raw, and the feud between Cobham and all the Essex party at its height, she had sent Lord Herbert to desire White to inform his master that she had no leisure at that moment to write to him, but that she was glad to hear of his welfare, and would be ever ready, in the place she held at court, to do him any kindness and pleasure, as to her good brother.* Sidney had without loss of time responded graciously, or rather gratefully, to this message; and within a fortnight we have White writing again:—"My Lady Kildare gives you many thanks for your letter. I did assure her that she should ever find your lordship willing and ready to do her all noble service; she protests that she will be forward to requite it in all things that may lie in her power."†

Lady Kildare (so she continued to be called), a warm-hearted but violent-tempered woman, probably very soon found out what a curse she had brought down upon herself in achieving Cobham for a husband. She meets us again within little more than a twelvemonth after her marriage in the correspondence of Lord Henry Howard with the agents of the King of Scots. Some of Lord Henry's dark sayings may defy interpretation; but the main points of the case, nevertheless, are clear enough. In his first letter, written in November 1601, his lordship relates an encounter Cecil had lately had with her. She had come to him boiling over with rage

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 114. † *Id.* 122.

in the notion that he had done her a mischief with King James by retailing some things to his Majesty which she had imparted to him in confidence. In common with the generality of the Howards, Lady Kildare, it is to be observed, had always been a zealous partisan of the Scottish succession. Hence her relations with Sir Robert Sidney and the Essex party. She and they, no doubt, quite understood one another. To Cecil too she had been in the habit of speaking frankly, in the conviction that he was at heart of her own way of thinking; but the sly Secretary had said nothing. Of late he and Lord Henry had been very anxious to be rid of so indiscreet an ally; and it is most likely that she was right in her suspicion of Cecil's interference. It would seem as if she had been in the habit of receiving pecuniary supplies from King James, or at least from some quarter under his control, and that the accustomed pension or allowance had been recently withdrawn. This stoppage of her grand leak, as Lord Henry phrases it, though managed with all the kindness, caution, and consideration that discretion could devise, had driven her mad. When she came to Cecil, "she was in such a passion, out of disdain," Lord Henry writes to the Earl of Marr, "as I assure your Lordship, that, if she had been discovered and detected to the Queen by Cobham,—as for a week and more the Queen's strange countenance to her gave us all cause to fear—she was resolved to have accused Cecil also, with as many probabilities as suspicion and spleen could heap together, of running the same course with King James, to the utter ruin of all his best advantages.

For to my own worthy nephew, the Lord Thomas Howard, who is her counsellor at these hard straits, she threatened to break the neck of that weasel (which was her own term) that had disgraced her." * The weasel, however, was too supple for her. By the way in which he met her charge, "sometimes scoffing, sometimes braving her," and by afterwards, through Lord Henry, sending a confidential friend to talk to her in that sense, Cecil managed to deceive her into the belief that she had after all been quite mistaken in her hypothesis of his Jacobitism. She was a good deal perplexed; but, settling down in this conviction at last, she consoled herself with the thought that she had incurred the dislike and ill-will of the Secretary all through the constancy of her own devotion to the cause of King James.†

She is mentioned again by Lord Henry in a letter to Bruce written in April 1602. It is plain from what we have already seen that Cobham, in becoming one of the "triplicity," had no more reason than his confederate Northumberland to expect any domestic sympathy with his new politics; still, whether from having been more recently married or from whatever other cause, he had perhaps rather a stronger hold of his wife's affections than the Earl. It had been arranged,

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 21.

† The printed letter says :—"ascribing his malice towards her only to the constancy of her devotion to Cecil." The last word must either have been miswritten by Lord Henry (probably for *the King*), or it has been misread by Lord Hailes, the editor of the Letters. His lordship complains in his Preface that Lord Henry's hand-writing is scarcely legible.

according to Lord Henry, that, to serve the objects of the combination, he should for a time do violence to his disposition and court her, with the view of making use of her access and industry at court, and also of keeping her father, the old Admiral, quiet. It is intimated that he had taken this course in a degree, but had hardly gone far enough.* Yet his influence over her, and her extreme indiscretion and recklessness, gave Cecil and Lord Henry considerable alarm. In another letter to Bruce, written soon after this, Lord Henry speaks of "the danger, the folly of Kildare, hath not only brought herself but the cause, her courses being no longer whispered, but almost divulged, in the mouths of so many." Besides "the peril of her traffic," which was full of inconvenience, she was, he adds, so weak, "by strange affection to Cobham, whom never woman loved, or will love, beside herself," that, if he would but bring himself to act, however falsely, the part of a kind husband, he might make her at once all his own, and not only make himself master of her future proceedings, but engross to himself the gain of all the voyages and discoveries she had made from the first day of her putting to sea in the service of King James. This his Majesty's friends clearly perceived; and they therefore, in Lord Henry's phrase, clapped on all their sails whenever she but offered to approach them, or to enter with them into any underhand negotiation. It was easier, however, Lord Henry goes on to observe, to blame what had already been done than to say how it should be corrected. "Abstinence from henceforth," he con-

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 68.

cludes, "and prayer for delivering from dangers past, are the best means that can serve for the present need; for, though she must be ever used with respect, yet *cavete chirographa*"* [let her not have a scrap of handwriting].

She still, it appears, occasionally resorted to Cecil. She had told the secretary, Lord Henry writes to the Earl of Marr in the beginning of June, that she conceived much better both of her husband and of Raleigh than she was wont, because they no longer railed openly in the privy chamber (against the Scottish succession, I suppose) as they had been accustomed to do. Cecil expressed his opinion that they were only more circumspect and cunning—not more honest; and then he added some words with regard to himself, of which nothing, or anything, could be made. Her ladyship, after this interview, told David Murray, "that she knew not what reckoning to make of Cecil, for sometimes he spoke of King James with respect, and afterward, in a long time again, he would never so much as speak of him."†

The last time her ladyship is mentioned by Lord Henry is in a letter to Bruce, dated the 27th of August. Certain advertisements, or advices, had just been received by his lordship and Cecil from Scotland, which had caused them some uneasiness. Among other things, Cecil and he require Bruce "to inquire humbly, but seriously, of King James, whether, at sundry times, Kildare have not written three sundry letters" to his Majesty, such as Lord Henry proceeds to describe.

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 90.

† *Id.* 125.

Two of them were said to have been written before the death of the Earl of Essex. The first, after acknowledging the honour which King James had done her in former times, renewed her professions of respect, and requested a cypher. This his Majesty had declined to send her as from himself; but one had soon after been settled between her ladyship and Sir Thomas Erskine, his Majesty's secretary. The second letter, which was written after Essex's return from Ireland, was stated to have contained an offer of her utmost endeavour and best credit (which she boasted of as being very great) to effect the disgrace of Cecil and Raleigh with Queen Elizabeth; "and the letter," says Lord Henry, "was so judiciously and discreetly written, as the party which advertiseth is fully of the mind that she was inspired and assisted by a better wit than her own." In her third letter, it was asserted she had advised King James to beware of Cecil, as one of his greatest enemies; and it was farther affirmed that she had written one again since then, and had received an answer from his Majesty so recently as about the 6th of July last.* It is probable that all this was quite true. There were other cases as well as that of Lady Kildare, in which James gave Cecil not a little embarrassment by the under-play which he was always trying to introduce into the game. It was a touch of the kingcraft of which he conceived himself to be so great a master, and which, probably, he would hardly have been able to refrain from playing off at a game of whist in an attempt to blind and mislead his own partner.

* *Cecil Correspondence*, 210.

The conviction of Cobham and his brother, along with Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Grey, and others, for treason, a few months after the accession of James, is related in all the histories.* Cobham had, in the first instance, sought to make his peace with the new King. Chamberlain, writing to Carleton from London on the 30th of March 1603, five days after the death of Elizabeth, mentions that his lordship was then on the point of setting out for Scotland, "to do his wonted good offices." But the Lords of the Council, it is added, would probably take care that his errand should be there before him, or should soon overtake him. Cecil and his friend Lord Henry, in fact, had long before this done his business pretty effectually. Nevertheless, it was believed, as appears from another letter of Chamberlain's to Carleton dated the 12th of April, that Lord Henry, who had followed Cobham to Edinburgh, had been sent thither to countermine his lordship. In another news letter of the 16th, it is mentioned that Cobham, as the writer understood, was lately returned from his Majesty discontented.† Very soon after this the two plots called the *Bye* and the *Main* appear to have been set on foot. "These treasons," said the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, on the trial of Raleigh, "though they consisted of several points, closed in together, like Samson's foxes, which were joined in the tails, though their heads were severed. The principal parties

* By far the most careful and complete account is that given by Mr. Jardine in the first volume of his *Criminal Trials*, London, 1832.

† Mr. Simon Thelwall to Mr. Dunn, Dean of the Arches, at Bremen; in *Wright*, II. 495.

to the *Bye*, otherwise called the *Surprise*, or the *Surprising Treason*, and the *Priests' Treason*, were Watson and Clarke, two Catholic priests, who are understood to have been its contrivers; Cobham's brother, George Brooke, who was to have taken the leading part in its execution; Sir Griffin Markham and Anthony Copley, two Catholic gentlemen; and Thomas Grey, Lord Grey of Wilton, who was one of the chiefs of the Puritan party. Their object appears to have been to seize the person of the King, in the expectation of extorting in that way a general toleration of dissent, and the appointment of themselves to the principal places in the government. Lord Cobham seems to have been also privy to this design; but the other plot, called the *Main*, or the *Spanish Treason*, was the one in which he was most deeply involved. This was alleged to have aimed at nothing less than the deposition, if not the murder, of King James, and, by the assistance of Spain, the transference of the crown to his cousin the Lady Arabella Stuart, who was then to conduct her government in subservience to that foreign power. His brother, George Brooke, and Sir Walter Raleigh, were charged as having been Cobham's chief associates in this conspiracy.

The government received some information of what was going on before the middle of July. Copley was the first person who was apprehended, and he immediately told all he knew. Watson, Clarke, Brooke, Markham, Copley, and others, were tried at Winchester on the 15th of November, and Raleigh on the 17th; Cobham on the 24th, and Grey on the 25th; the

two last before the Lord High Steward. All those that were arraigned, with one exception (Sir Edward Parham), were found guilty. Clarke, Watson, and George Brooke were executed, and all three confessed their guilt on the scaffold. Cobham, Grey, and Markham were reprieved after they had been brought out to suffer execution; and Raleigh's life was also spared for the present, though it was taken fifteen years after on the judgment which had all that while been kept hanging over his head, by a monstrous and unparalleled abuse of the forms of law. Meanwhile he, Grey, and Cobham were all consigned to the Tower.

Cobham's impending ruin naturally revived, in the heart of a wife who had once loved him so fondly, whatever tenderness his neglect and folly had not altogether extinguished. Lady Kildare had, on the formation of the new Court, been appointed to a place in the establishment of the Princess Elizabeth. On the 17th of September Sir Thomas Edmonds, writing from the Court at Woodstock to the Earl of Shrewsbury, mentions that the Lady of Kildare had been removed from about the person of the Princess, by reason that her spirits had been of late much troubled with her husband's disaster.* It was not a dismissal, but a release which she had herself desired. Lady Arabella Stuart, in a letter to Shrewsbury of about the same date, speaks of her as "discharged [that is, relieved] of her office, and as near a free woman as may be, and have a bad husband."† Cobham, as may be supposed, did not fail to turn to her in his need. He

* *Lodge*, III. 33. † *Id.* 27.

wrote to her before his trial, requesting her to make interest for him with her father, and also with the Attorney-General. The letter is in the State Paper Office, along with her answer, in which she says, "God must help us, and I will be true to you; but help yourself, if it may be. I say no more, but draw not the weight of others' burdens."* This is supposed to be the letter that Raleigh referred to on his trial, when he said, "My Lord Cobham received a letter from his wife, that there was no way to save his life but to accuse me." But it was also charged against Raleigh on his trial, that he had been a party to the employment of Lady Kildare by her husband in another matter. The principal evidence against Raleigh was Cobham's accusation of him. This accusation, it was alleged, Raleigh had afterwards persuaded Cobham to retract. "The course," said Coke, in stating the case, "was this:—The Lord Cobham was to desire of the Lieutenant of the Tower to have a preacher sent him that he might confess. Doctor Andrews was the man to be named to Mr. Lieutenant, that no suspicion might arise; but the meaning was to have Mr. Patrick Galloway, a worthy and reverend preacher, who can do more with the King than any other; and it was intended that he, having received Cobham's retractation of his accusation of Raleigh in solemn confession, might inform the King thereof. And this was to be done by the procurement of the Lord Cobham's wife, the Lady Kildare." Accordingly, in the course of the trial there was produced a long letter written by

* *Jardine*, I. 449.

Cobham from the Tower to Mellows, his steward, commencing thus:—"Mellows, I allow very well of your advice to desire to speak with a preacher; and I would have you, upon your return from Cobham, to write to my wife that you hear I am not well, and that I have made a request unto the Lieutenant to have a preacher come unto me. Now your advice unto her shall be, to be a means unto the King, that he will send Mr. Galloway, or some of his preachers, unto me, to move me out of conscience to confess more, if that I know anything, that thereby the King might be satisfied of the truth in every point. If this might be brought to pass, it would, I think, do me a great deal of good. My motion to the Lieutenant shall be for Mr. Doctor Andrews, for I would not have it known for the world that I desire to have any of the King's ministers, but that motion to come merely from my wife as a matter altogether unknown unto me."* Mellows was to go down to Cobham to arrange this matter with Lady Kildare. "I pray you stay no longer at Cobham," his lordship concludes, "than you must needs, for time with me is precious. Remember my velvet gown; and let my wife want no money. Remember well the contents of my letter, and burn it afterwards." His wife, it may be inferred, had not been

* *Jardine*, 437. "It will be observed," says Mr. Jardine, "that the only mode in which Coke seeks to affect Raleigh with this contrivance, is by the argument that it was beyond the reach of Cobham's understanding to have invented it. The reader will probably draw the same conclusion; though no great power of mind seems necessary for such an artifice." But there was also the consideration that the retractation could be of service only to Raleigh.

accustomed to have her pecuniary demands so readily met when it was held less necessary to keep her in good humour.

Cobham's conduct from the time of his apprehension, and to the close of his trial, was a strange display of weakness and baseness. He at once not only confessed his own guilt, but threw all the blame upon his brother and Raleigh, as his instigators and seducers; then, some time after, he recanted his accusation of Raleigh; and then, again, he re-affirmed it, recanting his recantation. When the Chief Justice, wrangling from the bench with the prisoner at the bar, asked Raleigh what he said to one of the particulars in Cobham's story, "I say," replied Raleigh, "that Cobham is a poor, silly, base, dishonourable soul!" "Is he base?" rejoined Coke. "I return it into thy throat on his behalf. But for thee, he had been a good subject." Coke, however, in his opening speech, had put him forward as an individual in his own person insignificant enough. "My Lord Cobham," he said, "(for whom we all lament and rejoice,—lament in that his ancient and noble house, which hath stood so long unspotted, is now ruinated; rejoice in that his treasons are revealed)—my Lord Cobham, as your lordships all know, in his courses was never a politician nor swordsman." What his lordship's courses had been before he took to dabbling in treason, the learned Attorney-General did not proceed to state. There is a lively account of the several trials in a letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to his friend Chamberlain, first printed in the *Hardwicke State Papers*. "Cobham," says Carleton,

"led the way on Friday, and made such a fasting day's piece of work of it, that he discredited the place to which he was called; never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted, so as, by his fashion, it was known ere he spake what he would confess or deny." In the end, when he had accused all his friends and little excused himself, and was condemned by the Court after very brief deliberation, "he begged a great deal," it is stated, "for life and favour, alleging his confession as a meritorious act." The only thing in which he appears to have been constant and persistent was in denouncing and inveighing against his brother. In his letter to Mellows he says;—"My brother's wife is permitted to come unto him daily, and this is only but to put him in heart that he may come to give evidence against me." The two brothers certainly did their best to destroy one another. His lordship, Carleton relates, when his brother's confession was read against him, "excepted against his brother as an incompetent accuser, baptising him with the name of a viper," and, among other things which he threw out against him, charged him with having seduced his wife's sister. According to another account, he declared that his brother had sought to poison him.* Yet they had, during the concoction of their treason, been in habits of the most confidential intimacy. It was to his brother that Cobham was accused (apparently on that brother's

* Letter of Michael Hicks to Lord Shrewsbury, in *Lodge*, III. 76.

confession) of having affirmed that "it would never be well in England till the Fox and his cubs (meaning the King and his children) were taken away," and of having made the remark, "You and the Lord Grey are upon the *bye*, but I and Sir Walter Raleigh are upon the *main*," which seems to have been the first application of those terms to the two plots.

When he was brought out to die, Cobham very much astonished every body. The same Dr. Barlow, now Bishop of Chichester, who had been sent to Essex before his execution, and found him so communicative,* having previously visited him, found in him, Carleton says, "a willingness to die, and readiness to die well, with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh." The day on which he and Grey and Markham were successively led to the scaffold; in the Castle Yard of Winchester, was Friday the 10th of December. "A fouler day," says Carleton, "could hardly have been picked out, or fitter for such a tragedy." Cobham, it is declared, "came to the scaffold with good assurance, and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so outprayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander by said 'he had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single.' Some few words he used to express his sorrow for his offence to the King, and craved pardon of him and the world. For Sir Walter Raleigh, he took it upon the hope of his soul's resurrection that what he had said of him was true; and, with those words, would have taken a short farewell of the world

* See Vol. I. p. 198.

with that constancy and boldness, that we might see by him it is an easier matter to die well than live well." When, as had been concerted, the sheriff announced the reprieve after they had all gone through their parts, Cobham vowed aloud, that, if ever he proved traitor again, he would not so much as beg his life. It would scarcely have been worth his while. One would almost be inclined to doubt from all this whether Cobham, and perhaps his companions too, had not had all the while a strong suspicion of how the strange performance they were made to go through was, after all, to end. When Carleton first wrote to Chamberlain, immediately after the trials, it was thought probable that Cobham's life at least would be preserved. Cecil, it was understood, had undertaken to be his friend. Cobham's sister was married to Cecil. The subtle secretary would, of course, allow King James to suppose that the reprieving of the convicts was wholly his own act—a resolution taken by him without man's help, as Carleton calls it,—and the manner has certainly all the appearance of having been the conception and contrivance of the royal mind; but the sharp-sighted minister probably saw enough of what was going on there, for all the unfathomable mystery in which his Majesty flattered himself his meditations were buried, to feel much at ease in regard to the fate of his brother-in-law.

Cobham's conviction, of course, stripped him of every thing he possessed in the world. All that had descended to him from his long line of ancestors was forfeited to the crown. He was kept in the Tower for many years; but he did not die a prisoner. When he had been

quite forgotten by every body, and was probably now a man well advanced in years, he was discharged, or allowed to walk out, as no longer worth detaining. If we may credit the common account, it would seem to have been rather a dismissal from a place of shelter than a restoration to liberty. The liberty he acquired was such, in Francis Osborne's phrase, "as only afforded him the choice of a place to starve in, all his land being formerly confiscate and begged." "Myself," continues Osborne, "heard William Earl of Pembroke relate, with much regret towards him (though in his life his opposer in exasperating the old Queen against him in relation to a juvenile lapse, for which he was by her committed to the Fleet), that he died, in a room ascended by a ladder, at a poor woman's house in the Minories, formerly his laundress, rather of hunger than any more natural disease."* Weldon, who calls Cobham "a most silly lord," and elsewhere describes him as "but one degree from a fool,"† tells the same story, in his sourer or more envenomed style, with some variations, or additional particulars. His death, he says, was base, "for he died lousy for want of apparel and linen; and had starved, had not a trencher-scraper, some time his servant in court, relieved him with scraps, in whose house he died, being so poor a house as he was forced to creep up a ladder into a little hole to his chamber; which was a strange judgment, and unprecedented, that a man of seven thousand pounds per annum, and of a personal estate of thirty thousand pounds, of all which the King was cheated of what

* *Traditional Memoirs of James*, 156.
† *Court of King James*, 329 and 342.

should [have] escheated to him, that he could not give him any maintenance, as in all cases the King doth, unless out of his own revenue of the crown, which was the occasion of this lord's want; his wife, being very rich, would not give him the crumbs that fell from her table; and this was a just judgment of God on him."*

Very few of the statements of Weldon, Wilson, Peyton, and the other libellous writers of the age of Charles the First and the Commonwealth, are found, upon close examination, to be minutely correct: but this common account of the death and last days of Lord Cobham can hardly be supposed to be a mere fabrication. There is not much force in the doubts and objections of easy-minded unsuspicious Bishop Goodman, who says, in his mitigating way;—"That Cobham should live and die so miserably as is related, and that his wife should be so unnatural as not to relieve him with the crumbs that fell from her table, and that the King should be cheated of all his estate, these things are not credible. For who had Lord Cobham's house, but the Duke of Richmond, the King's nearest kinsman? And therefore the King was not cheated. Who had much of his land in Kent, but the Earl of Salisbury, his brother-in-law? Who had his office, but the Earl of Northampton? Now I know these lords to have been so noble and so generous of disposition, as that they would never have suffered him to have lived in that base manner. Besides, if his lady were so rich, he might by law have claimed a share in

* *Court of King James*, 347, 348.

her wealth."* But Salisbury and Northampton had both been some years in their graves by the time that Cobham appears to have regained his liberty, and to have fallen into the state of destitution and distress that has been described. Whether or no the King can be properly said to have been cheated of the forfeited lands, they had all got out of his Majesty's possession. And very probably it is a mistaken notion of Weldon's that Lady Kildare was very rich. It is stated in a letter of Chamberlain's, dated the 8th of November, 1598, that she had recently had an allowance of 700*l.* a year granted to her by Elizabeth;† but that pension may have died with the Queen. She seems, as we have seen, to have had little or no command of money while she lived with Cobham. How she can have become very rich afterwards is not apparent.

Cobham is stated by Camden to have died, "miserable and poor," in January 1619.‡ Lady Kildare survived till 1628. They had no children. Camden says that his lordship's heir, William Brooke, the son of his brother George, was restored in 1610, but "with a clause, that he should not hold the ancient honour of his ancestors, and the title of Baron Cobham, but only from the grace and favour of his Majesty." The meaning seems to be, that he was restored only in blood, but not to the peerage which had belonged to his ancestors. Of him simple Bishop Goodman writes;— "For George Brooks, who suffered in that treason, and was brother to Cobham, I know that his son had a very fair estate left him; that he was a great reveller at

* *Memoirs*, 69. † *Addl. MS.* 4175. ‡ *Annal. Jac.*

court in the masques where the Queen and greatest ladies were; that he had a good estate in the hundred of Hoo, in Kent; that he had a park there; and I have seen him dance." William Brooke's estate in the hundred of Hoo was the old family property of Cowling, which his father had inherited, and had also of course forfeited, but which James had restored to the son. He left only four daughters, to meet whose claims as coheiresses the estate was sold.

Two of these daughters of William Brooke are the beautiful *Mesdemoiselles Brooke* of whom we read in the *Mémoires de Grammont*, where one of them figures as the wife of Sir John Denham the poet and the mistress of the Duke of York. She was Denham's second wife; he married her some four or five years after the Restoration. But, although she may have been only eighteen, Denham was not at this time seventy-nine, as stated by the lively historian of the Count de Grammont; in fact, when he died in 1668, he was only fifty-three.* Nor, if his young wife was thought to have been poisoned, does he seem to have been suspected as the author of her death. The popular story was that she had been destroyed by powder of diamonds given her in a cup of chocolate by direction of the Duchess of York. The Duchess was directly charged with the crime, not only in the anonymous

* Such, at least, is Anthony Wood's express statement, and it agrees very well with all the known facts of Denham's biography. The authority of the *Mémoires de Grammont* on such a point is worth nothing. It was only in 1640 that Denham's first production, the *Sophy*, appeared, when Waller said he had broken out, like the Irish rebellion, sixty thousand strong when nobody suspected it.

lampoons of the day, but even in some verses written by Andrew Marvel.

In 1645, John Brooke, son of a younger son of the last Lord Cobham's grandfather, and then his lordship's next heir male, was created Baron Cobham by patent, "to enjoy that title in as ample a manner as any of his ancestors had done." This, however, as has been remarked, was evidently a new barony.* It became extinct on the death of the grantee, without issue, in 1651. Margaret Brooke, however, a sister of Henry, the attainted Lord Cobham, had married Sir Thomas Sondes, or Sands, and their daughter Frances, becoming the wife of Sir Thomas Leveson, had by him a son, Sir John Leveson, whose daughter, Christian, married Sir Peter Temple, of Stow, Baronet; their son was Sir Richard Temple, Baronet; and his eldest son, Richard, who was thus the fifth in descent from Margaret Brooke, was in 1714 created Baron Cobham, and in 1718 Viscount and Baron Cobham of Kent, with remainder of the latter dignities, failing his own issue, to his second sister, Hester, wife of Richard Grenville, Esq.; and, failing her issue male, to his third sister, Christian, wife of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Baronet. Mary, the eldest of his three sisters, who was passed over, had offended him by marrying a clergyman, the Reverend Dr. West, by whom she became the mother of Gilbert West, the translator of *Pindar*. This Viscount Cobham, who was a distinguished military character, and rose to be a field-marshal, was the Cobham to whom Pope addresses

* *Nicolas, Synopsis*, I. 143.

the first of his *Moral Essays*, and of whom he has spoken with so much regard and admiration in that and others of his poems. He died, without issue, in 1749, when his sister, Mrs. Grenville (now a widow) became Viscountess Cobham, but was about a month after created Countess Temple. She died in 1752, and was succeeded in her peerage in the first instance by her eldest son Richard; but upon his death, without issue, in 1779, the earldom and other dignities passed to his nephew George, the eldest son of his brother the Right Honourable George Grenville, the celebrated minister. George Earl Temple was in 1784 created Marquis of Buckingham, and, dying in 1813, was succeeded by his son Richard, who in 1822 was created Marquis of Chandos and Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and died in 1839, when he was succeeded by his son, the present Duke.

Lord Cobham's office of Warden of the Cinque Ports was, upon his forfeiture, given, as Bishop Goodman states, to the Earl of Northampton (*ci-devant* Lord Henry Howard), whom we have seen so active in damaging him with the new King. The Warden of the Cinque Ports was, in those days, and to a much later date, the leviathan of boroughmongers. Of the sixteen members returned to Parliament by the Ports and their dependencies he assumed the right of actually nominating eight, and the other eight were also commonly elected on his recommendation. This abuse continued till it was put down by statute after the Revolution.* It is probable that, even if Cobham had

* 2 W. & M., ses. 1, c. 7.

not plunged into the folly by which (much, no doubt, to Lord Henry's satisfaction) he so speedily brought about his ruin with his own hand, he would not have been long allowed to retain a post, the extraordinary political influence attached to which the new spirit that had come in with the new reign made much more important than it had heretofore been.

As for his lands, what portion of them may have gone to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, I do not know. He had a house in Blackfriars, London, where, in June 1600, he entertained Queen Elizabeth, on occasion of the marriage of Henry Lord Herbert, afterwards the first Marquis of Worcester, with Mistress Anne Russell, grand-daughter of the Earl of Bedford, the same lady, it is presumed, whom it had been reported a few years before, that Cobham himself was to marry. Mrs. Russell a few months ago had been chief mourner at the funeral of her fellow maid of honour, poor Mistress Ratcliffe. "The bride," Rowland White writes, "met the Queen at the waterside, where my Lord Cobham had provided a lectica, made like half a litter, wherein she was carried to my Lady Russell's by six knights. Her Majesty dined there, and at night went thorough Dr. Puddin's house (who gave the Queen a fan) to my Lord Cobham's, where she supt."* It was here after supper that the masque was performed by the eight court ladies, in which her Majesty, when one of them told her that her name was *Affection*, replied significantly, "*Affection! Affection* is false,"—alluding, it was supposed, to Essex,

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 203.

at this time driven from her presence, in which it was fated that he should never again appear. "Yet," adds White, "her Majesty rose and danced." Lord Cobham, with Lord Herbert of Cardiff, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, led the bride to the church. "The entertainment," we are told, "was great and plentiful, and my Lady Russell much commended it." Her Majesty seems to have slept in Cobham's house. His lordship's principal manor of Cobham, in Kent, was bestowed by King James upon Ludovic Stuart second Duke of Lennox, his Majesty's near relative (the same who married for his first wife the Lady Sophia Ruthven, sister of the late Earl of Gowrie); from him it passed to his brother Esme third Duke of Lennox, who married Catharine Baroness Clifton; from them it descended to their representative, Theodosia Baroness Clifton, who in 1713 married John Bligh, Esquire, created Baron Clifton of Rathmore in 1721, Viscount Darnley in 1722, and Earl of Darnley in 1725. It is now the seat of the present Earl of Darnley, who is their great-grandson. And nothing remains of the Barons of Cobham in the domain that once was theirs, and the quiet village to which their name still gives an historic interest, except some monumental stones and effigies that mark where their bones lie interred in the fine old parish church.

THE LAST LORD GREY OF WILTON.

THERE is no other name that has spread more widely throughout the Peerage than that of Grey. The Barons Grey of Codnor, Grey of Rotherfield, and Grey of Wilton dated their honours from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; those of Grey of Ruthyn, Grey of Rugemont, and Grey of Powis, from the fourteenth and fifteenth; in the fifteenth, also, a branch of the Greys of Ruthyn became Barons Ferrers (often styled Grey) of Groby, from which they afterwards rose to be Earls of Huntingdon, Marquises of Dorset, and Dukes of Suffolk, till at last a daughter of the house was placed on the throne—only, however, to step thence to the scaffold; a son of one of the Barons Ferrers of Groby likewise became Baron and afterwards Viscount Lisle; in the same fifteenth century another branch of the Greys of Ruthyn became Earls of Kent, from which they rose to be Marquises and Dukes of Kent; the seventeenth saw the creation of the Baronies of Grey of Groby (since the Earldom of Stamford), Grey of Werke, and Grey of Rolleston, and the Viscountcy of Grey of Glendale (afterwards the Earldom of Tankerville); and the present century has seen that of the Barons, since Viscounts and Earls, Grey of Howick. It will be observed with what tenacity the numerous

ennobled branches of the family (for they can nearly all be traced to one stock) have retained in their titles of peerage their ancient and distinguished surname almost always so long as they were only Barons, in some cases even after they had acquired a higher rank. Besides the Barony of Grey of Codnor, the oldest of all, which is supposed to be in abeyance, and that of Grey of Powis (otherwise Charleton), the existence of which is disputed, there are still in the peerage the Earl of Stamford and Warrington and Earl Grey, who are both Greys by male descent, and the Marchioness of Hastings (Baroness Grey de Ruthyn in her own right), the Earl of Tankerville, the Earl of Wilton, and Earl de Grey, who are sprung from the old nobility of the name through females, and who all owe their honours chiefly to that descent, or at least have taken their titles with a reference to it. The Barons Gray of Scotland are also said to be of the same blood with the many noble English Greys.

Thomas Grey, Baron Grey of Wilton, who was convicted of high treason in 1603, along with Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, and thereupon, though his life was spared, underwent the forfeiture of all his honours and possessions, was the fifteenth peer, and the twelfth in lineal male descent (the dignity, though inheritable by females, had never fallen to the distaff, as the French express it) from Reginald de Grey, who received the writ of summons to Parliament, by which the Barony was created, in 1295, the 23rd year of King Edward the First. But this Reginald's father, John de Grey, who was the second son of Henry de

Grey, first Baron Grey of Codnor (by writ), is regarded as having been a Baron by tenure, as his ancestors had been for a century before his son was ennobled. The father of Thomas, the attainted Lord, was the Arthur Lord Grey who, when he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the summer of 1580, took Edmund Spenser with him as his Secretary, and of whose government, which lasted for two years, Spenser has eloquently written the history and the defence in his prose *View of the State of Ireland,* as he has also made him, under the designation of Sir Artegal, or Arthegal, one of the principal personages of the *Fairy Queen,* not only the hero of the Fifth Book, and the representative there of the virtue of Justice—

> "Most sacred virtue she of all the rest,
> Resembling God in his imperial might"—

but also the predestined bridegroom of the noble Britomart, the chief heroine of the poem. What Spenser admits to have been the severity, but vindicates as the necessary severity, of his Irish administration, was denounced by many of his contemporaries as savage cruelty; his long contest with the Blatant Beast in the *Fairy Queen* shadows forth the popular clamour with which he was assailed. Elizabeth herself, excited, Camden intimates, by his adversary Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Sussex, was, for the moment at least, astounded and shocked by certain of his summary proceedings; for he did not hesitate to break through all forms of law in doing what he conceived to be right. A principle, certainly, which it would not do for every

body to act upon. His family had, ever since the Reformation, been zealously Protestant; his father had stood by Dudley Duke of Northumberland in proclaiming Lady Jane Grey; and this Lord Arthur had all along attached himself to the party of Northumberland's son, the Earl of Leicester. Whatever Leicester himself may be thought to have been, Grey was a sincere and ardent Puritan. His zeal exploded with great fury when Secretary Davison was called in question in the Star Chamber for having, contrary to the Queen's wish, forwarded the warrant upon which Mary Stuart was executed; while the other lords were only disposed to go the length of acquitting Davison of any ill intention, Grey in a long oration vehemently insisted that he deserved to be praised and rewarded for what he had done, instead of being censured.

Arthur Lord Grey died in 1593. His son Thomas, who succeeded to the title, held fast by the principles of his family, but on that very account was the less likely to hang by the Leicester faction after the chieftainship of it fell into the hands of such a person as the Earl of Essex. Essex's new connexions, as well as much of his conduct, could not fail to disgust Grey, and they soon fell asunder. When Essex broke off from his Irish government, and came over in such haste to England, in the autumn of 1599, Sir Thomas Gerard, who had joined him at Lambeth as he was making his way to the Court at Nonsuch, understanding that Lord Grey was a little way before them on the same road, put spurs to his horse, and, when he had overtaken his lordship, "told him

that my Lord of Essex was a little behind, if he would speak with him. 'No,' said the Lord Grey, 'I have some business at Court.' 'Then, I pray you,' said Sir Thomas Gerard, 'let my Lord of Essex ride before, that he may bring the first news of his return himself.' 'Doth he desire it?' said my Lord Grey. 'No,' said Sir Thomas, 'nor I think will desire nothing at your hands.' 'Then,' said he, 'I have business,' and made greater haste than before." * This is the relation of Rowland White, writing from Nonsuch to Sir Robert Sidney the next day. Camden says that Grey, whom he calls one of the Earl's most inveterate adversaries, had previously overtaken Essex and passed him without notice, and that, upon Gerard returning and reporting what had passed between them, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence offered to ride forward and to dispatch first Grey and then Secretary Cecil; but Essex at once expressed his abhorrence of the proposition—which, indeed, was at least as foolish as it was wicked.† Soon after this a violent quarrel broke out between Grey and Essex's great friend the Earl of Southampton. It had, indeed, begun while they served together in Ireland. On the 24th of January 1600 White informs Sidney that Grey had sent Southampton a challenge, which the latter accepted, but added, that "for the weapon and place, being by the laws of honour to be chosen by him, he would not prefer the combat in England, knowing the danger of the laws, and the little grace and mercy he was to expect if he ran into the danger of them; he therefore would let

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 128.

† *Elizabeth*, 616.

him know, ere it were long, what time, what weapon, and what place he would choose for it."* The duel was never fought; but in the end of January 1601, only a few days before Essex's outbreak, the two chanced to encounter in London in the public street, both being on horseback, when Grey drew his sword and attacked Southampton, for which he was by the Queen's order committed to the Fleet.† When at the trial of Essex and Southampton, a few weeks afterwards, Grey's name was called out as one of the twenty-five peers who had been summoned to sit with the Lord High Steward, "the Earl of Essex," we are told, "laughed upon the Earl of Southampton, and jogged him by the sleeve." Southampton afterwards in his defence referred to the late assault that had been made upon him by Grey; upon which Grey said, "I protest I owe my Lord of Southampton no malice. God knows I delight not to press such as are in abject fortune; but that which I did to him in the street was not in respect of our old quarrel, but for new injuries." He seems to have been understood to mean that some provocation was given him by Southampton immediately before he drew upon him. "Your lordship," Southampton replied, "did mistake me; I never intended you any injury at that time." The matter was also adverted to by Essex, who declared that within these few days he had been fully resolved to have received the communion, in testimony that he bore no malice to any one, not even to his private enemies; but

* *Sidney Papers*, II. 164.

† *Camden, Elizabeth*, 629; and *Winwood*, I. 292.

that he had been prevented by the sudden encounter between Southampton and Grey; "for so soon as I knew of it," said he, "I found my affections to stir in it exceedingly, seeing that her Majesty had not power sufficient to prevent my friend from being publicly assailed in the streets." Southampton's friends complained that Grey's imprisonment had been much too short. And it could not have been of long duration, for on the 8th of February Grey was one of the Captains engaged in the attack on Essex House; both he and Cobham were there; Grey in the Strand, Cobham in the garden between the house and the river, where Sir Robert Sidney and the Lord Admiral himself also were.

His severance from the old connexions of his house, brought about partly by public, partly by private and personal causes, would rather bring Grey into closer association and more complete ascendancy with the genuine Puritan party. He was now indeed regarded as the head of the Puritans; but at the same time his detached position left him the more liable to be drawn into new confederacies. The greater freedom of action, too, which he had acquired by standing alone tended to make him the bolder or the rasher. In joining the plot of George Brooke and the Priests in 1603 he was probably carried away by the common delusion of earnest and clever men, believing that the irregular agencies he was about to evoke would remain obedient to his control, and that he would have no difficulty in guiding them all to the furtherance of his own purposes, which, whatever they precisely were, certainly were not those of most of his associates.

Lord Grey's behaviour on his trial, and throughout the scenes that followed, was very gallant. Sir Dudley Carleton in his account of the trials to his friend Chamberlain, after having described Cobham's pitiful demeanour, says:—"Grey, quite in another key, began with great assurance and alacrity; spake a long and eloquent speech, first to the Lords and then to the Judges, and lastly to the King's counsel, and told them well of their charges, and spake effectually for himself." Mr. Jardine states that some notes of this speech are preserved in the State Paper Office, and that it is replete with good sense and high feeling.* Burghley's old secretary, Michael Hicks, writes to Lord Shrewsbury:—"I heard that he spent a day in his arraignment, and two hours at the least in an oration, which I have heard was most eloquent, full of good words and sentences, and showing good reading, and inveighing greatly against the common law, vouching many statutes. It is said he answered with that fervency, or fury, of spirit, that he was reproved and interrupted sometimes; but Mr. Attorney dealt very mildly and respectably both with my Lord Cobham and him."† The trial lasted from eight in the morning till eight at night; and all that time, says Carleton, Grey held the court "in subtle traverses and scapes; but the evidence was too conspicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confessions, that he was acquainted with the *Surprise*. Yet the Lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with so hard censure against him." Among the Peers appointed to try him was his old antagonist

* *Criminal Trials*, I. 468. † *Lodge*, III. 28.

Southampton, who less than three years before had stood at the bar pleading for his life where Grey sat as one of his judges, and had been by him pronounced guilty, and worthy to die. Carleton states that Southampton said nothing before Grey's face in the open court, but, when the Lords retired to deliberate upon their verdict, "spake very unnobly against him." Most of the Lords, he adds, "strove with themselves, and would fain (as it seemed) have dispensed with their consciences to have showed him favour." After the delivery of the verdict, which appears to have been unanimous, to the customary demand whether he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him, he at first replied only, "I have nothing to say;" then, after a long pause, he added, "And yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind, *Non eadem omnibus decora* [the same things are not becoming for all]; the house of the Wiltons have spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his. God send the King a long and prosperous reign, and to your Lordships all honour." After sentence was pronounced, he desired, if he might live for two days, that a divine named Travers might be sent for to come to him; if he were to die before that, he would be satisfied with the attendance of another named Field, whom he understood to be in Winchester, where the trial took place, or in the neighbourhood. Travers and Field were eminent Puritan ministers, and both had suffered suspension and imprisonment for nonconformity in the preceding reign. "There was great compassion had of this gallant young lord," Carleton goes on, "for so clear and

fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials. Yet the Lord Steward condemned his manner much, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the Judges liked him as little, because he disputed with them against their laws."

But nothing can set Grey more distinctly before us than King James's own characteristic discourse touching him and Cobham. When his Majesty, Carleton relates, called the Lords of the Council before him to inform them what determination he had come to in regard to the two Lords and the other prisoners, "he told them how much he had been troubled to resolve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble, young, spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a matter of injustice; to save Grey, who was of a proud, insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had showed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, still travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance, that the Lords knew not what to look for, till the end came out,—*and therefore I have saved them all.*" It was an opportunity of display not to be resisted by the royal rhetorician; and the success of his performance was immense. "The miracle," adds Carleton, "was as great there as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect; for the applause that began about the King went from thence into the presence, and so round about the court."

Although about a fortnight elapsed between his trial

and his being led forth, as he was left to believe, to execution, Grey appears to have been attended only by Field, the one of the two clergymen named by him who was on the spot. He "spent his time," Carleton writes, "in great devotions; but with that careless regard of that with which he was threatened, that he was observed neither to eat or sleep the worse, or be any way distracted from his accustomed fashions." When it came to his turn to be brought out, the narrative afterwards proceeds:—he "was led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and, coming in this equipage, had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but, for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit. In this confession he said, though God knew this fault of his was far from the greatest, yet he knew, and could not but acknowledge, his heart to be faulty, for which he asked pardon of the King; and thereupon entered into a long prayer for the King's good estate, which held us in the rain more than half an hour. But, being come to a full point, the Sheriff stayed him, and said he had received orders from the King to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him; whereupon he was likewise led to Prince Arthur's Hall [the hall of Winchester Castle], and his going away

seemed more strange unto him than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him than of an hour's respite; neither could any man yet dive into the mystery of this strange proceeding." In the end, when he was told that he was not to die, he said, that, since he had his life without begging, he would deserve it. Every thing betokened a spirit far above all baseness,—though, perhaps, not unapt to be betrayed by an over-estimation of himself, which his very gifts and virtues would tend to excite and encourage.

It would have been the greater mercy to have allowed him to die now. He suffered much from sickness in the Tower; and he was also, for whatever reason, treated more harshly than his fellow-prisoners. A letter which he addressed to Cecil—now Earl of Salisbury—in June 1611, nearly eight years after his commitment, and which has been printed by Mr. Jardine from the original in the State Paper Office, is interesting from the details it gives respecting both himself and his fellow-prisoners, and very touching for its gentle and subdued tone, and its expression of feelings in which every thing of pride or fire is extinguished. Grey had always regarded Cecil as his friend. Immediately after his trial he had written a short note to him, also first printed by Mr. Jardine, in which he besought him to perfect his former favours by giving him as certain and early an intimation of the time of his death as he could, and expressed a hope that he should see him once again before he left the world, subscribing himself "Your lordship's near dying friend, who loved you while he

lived, and prays faithfully for you."* Now he writes as follows:—"My Lord, in all my distress, your lordship, under God, is the sanctuary under whose gentle favour I seek to shroud me and receive ever safety and comfort. Wherefore, perceiving by Mr. Lieutenant how nobly it hath pleased your Lordships of the Council to compassionate us for our diet, and for which we are infinitely bound unto you, I cannot hide from your lordship another grief, peculiar to me alone, that not a little molesteth me. All the other old prisoners are restored near where they were before; my Lord of Northumberland to walk on the hill, my Lord Cobham to walk freely in his garden, and Sir Walter Raleigh hath a garden and gallery free to himself. I only am shut up, so that I can neither have air nor any moderate exercise for preservation of my health; and, therefore, I humbly beseech your lordship to move for licence for me to walk under some part of the Ordnance-house next my lodging and least in show; whereunto might it please you to add liberty a mornings, before the ladies are up or disposed to walk, with a keeper, to walk and run (a thing which not a little preserveth my health) in the greater part of Mr. Pidgeon's gardens, I should hold it for a great favour; especially might Mr. Lieutenant perceive that your Lordships wished a favourable, or moderate hand at least, carried over one that, since this his misfortune, hath in no point failed of due respect unto him, nor care to avoid all just exceptions against himself; and yet do I suffer most, being even shut from all commodity fit to preserve my

* *Criminal Trials*, I. 469.

health. Truly, my Lord, life is not dear unto me; nay, happy were it for me that my dissolution were at hand; for my life is but extreme misery. Only I could not deny your Lordships, nor myself, this right, that my sore complaint might appear unto you; that, God giving you sense thereof, some remedy may be found, if not to help (whereof I begin to despair), at least to ease such insupportable distress. This thus done, I humbly recommend myself and all my desires to God's mercy, and, under him, to your Lordships' noble favour, beseeching you, as soon as conveniently may be, that Mr. Lieutenant may have order for me to walk somewhere; for truly, my Lord, even this week, in such close and uneasy lodgings, hath not a little dulled me, and indisposed my poor and decaying body. My God hath pleased unto all others to add this sore blow, that my dear and only sister, coming up to see me, lies sick near unto death. The living God increase in me all true patience, and deliver the state from all other peril, as poor Grey shall willingly expose his life for the service of the King and kingdom of England. I honour your Lordship with the entire devotions and services of THOMAS GREY." *

Whether any attention was paid to this pathetic appeal does not appear. The unhappy nobleman never regained his liberty; he died in the Tower on the 6th of July 1614, having thus been a prisoner for about eleven years. He was probably not much more than forty years of age, if he was even so old.

The last Lord Grey of Wilton had never been

* *Criminal Trials*, I. 477—479.

married. But that "dear and only sister," who had come to see him in his prison in 1611, and had been taken so ill during that visit to London that it was feared she would not recover, still lived. His old mother, too, had been unhappy enough to witness the ruin of her son, if she did not survive his death. She was a lady of foreign birth, originally named Jane Sibilla Morison, and had been naturalised by Act of Parliament in 1576, probably soon after her marriage with Grey's father. The property of the family had been much reduced in the time of his grandfather, the thirteenth Lord, who, having been captain of the town of Guisnes, in France, in the reign of Mary, had been taken prisoner there after the fall of Calais, and compelled to pay a ransom of twenty thousand crowns. He had sold the old family seat of Wilton Castle in Herefordshire, which had been acquired by the marriage of Reginald de Grey, the first Baron, with the daughter and heiress of Henry de Longchamp; and it appears to have been by him also that the fee of their old town residence of Gray's Inn was disposed of, although the law society by which it is still tenanted had had a lease of a portion of the property from a much more ancient date. The principal estate that fell to the crown on the forfeiture of the last Lord, was the manor of Whaddon in Buckinghamshire. Of that a lease had, after the attainder, been granted at a low rent to the Dowager Lady Grey and her daughter. The latter, however, was soon obliged to relinquish even the tenancy of her ancestral lands. Chamberlain writing to Carleton on the 30th of April 1616, after having

informed him of the election of the new favourite Villiers—so soon to become Earl and Marquis, and then Duke of Buckingham—as a Knight of the Garter, observes that it was doubted whether he had a sufficient livelihood to maintain the dignity of the place according to the statutes of the Order; "but," he adds, "to take away that scruple, the King hath bestowed on him the Lord Grey's lands, and means, they say, to mend his grant with much more, not far distant, in the present possession of the Earl of Somerset, if he do *cadere causâ* and sink in the business now in hand" (his trial for the murder of Overbury). On thus acquiring the manor of Whaddon, Buckingham is said to have purchased her lease from Bridget Grey for the sum of 11,000*l.*, together with a Baronetage for her husband. She was married to Rowland Egerton, Esq., the head of the ancient house of Egerton, in Cheshire; and he became Sir Rowland Egerton, Baronet, in 1617. Their great-great-great-grandson, Sir Thomas Egerton, the seventh Baronet, was first, in 1784, raised to the peerage with the old title of Baron Grey de Wilton, which had been extinct for a hundred and eighty years, and afterwards, in 1801, having lost his only son, was created Viscount Grey de Wilton and Earl of Wilton, with remainder of these latter honours to the second and younger sons of his daughter Eleanor, who was then the wife of Viscount Belgrave, the heir of the house of Grosvenor, and who died in 1846, Marchioness Dowager of Westminster. Her second son Thomas, accordingly, succeeded as second Earl of Wilton on the death of his grandfather in 1814; and her eldest,

the present Marquis of Westminster, is now the representative of the ancient Lords Grey of Wilton.

Wilton Castle has become the property of Guy's Hospital, as well as Lees, the old estate of the Riches.* As for Whaddon, it is stated in Gibson's translation of the *Britannia* to have, on the death of the second Villiers Duke of Buckingham, passed by sale to James Selby and Thomas Willis, the famous physician, who had (in 1722) almost entirely pulled down the old house of the Greys. That warlike family, Camden mentions, had held also the adjoining manor of Eaton by the service of keeping one of the King's gerfalcons; whence they had borne for their crest a falcon sitting on a glove†.

* *See Vol. I. p. 309.*

† *Britannia*, 333.

MARY TUDOR, AND THE ROYAL RIGHTS OF HER REPRESENTATIVES.

THE most remarkable circumstance in the history of the house of Grey is the claim of succession to the Crown acquired by one of its branches, the representation of which branch still subsists.

This matter is now, indeed, merely one of the curiosities of family history, but it was formerly of serious importance: and an interesting portion of the history of the kingdom will be all the more luminous and the more interesting for its being clearly understood.

The hereditary right of the present reigning family, as every body knows, is derived, through James the First, from Margaret, the elder of the two daughters of King Henry the Seventh. From her sprung the Stuarts. The claim of the branch of the house of Grey was as the descendants and representatives of her younger sister Mary.

In any case the latter would have had a reversionary right. Upon the failure of the line of the elder sister, the line of the younger sister would have taken its place; but, in the succession to the English crown (to that of Scotland they had no pretensions), the claim advanced by or for the descendants of the Greys was, that they were entitled to come in *before* the Stuarts. This was what had so ugly a sound.

A more vulnerable hereditary title to the Crown than that of Henry the Seventh could not well be—one with a greater number of weak or doubtful points. He was the son of Margaret, only child of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, whose father was the eldest of the sons of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his third wife, Catharine Swynford. That was all the title by descent that he had. The Beauforts, the children of Catharine Swynford, had all been born before the marriage of their father and mother; and, although they had been afterwards legitimated, it was generally held to have been with a reservation of the right of succession to the Crown. They were not the oldest branch of the house of Lancaster; there were in existence numerous descendants of John of Gaunt by both his first and his second marriages. The line of Lancaster was not the oldest branch of the royal family; there still lived descendants of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who was the elder brother of John of Gaunt. Finally, in the way of Henry's hereditary claim, such as it was, stood his own mother. It was she, not her son, who possessed whatever right to the throne might be supposed to belong to the representative of the Beaufort branch of the house of Lancaster.

Still, no one of these defects, nor all of them together, made the claim quite indefensible. Henry's mother, it might be said, had plainly relinquished her rights in favour of her son; and the history of the monarchy furnished a perfect precedent for such an arrangement in the case of Henry the Second and his mother the Empress Matilda. The rights of the line of Clarence

(or of York, in which it had merged) had been finally disposed of by the fortune of war, after a struggle which had lasted for the greater part of a century. The descendants of John of Gaunt by his first and second marriages were not only all members of foreign royal houses, but were, in all respects, aliens by blood as well as by birth, with the exception only of their derivation from the daughters of the English prince some three or four generations back. The claim of any of these personages to the English throne in the circumstances in which Henry advanced his title might well be regarded as too visionary for argument. The legitimation of the Beauforts, of course, was maintained, or assumed, to be complete for all purposes.

But, if there could hardly have been a worse hereditary title than Henry's own, there could not have been a better than that of his children. They were, through their mother Elizabeth of York, the unquestionable inheritors of all the rights of the houses of York and Clarence. As the eldest daughter of King Edward the Fourth, she was, after the death of her two brothers, King Edward the Fifth and Richard Duke of York, the indisputable representative and heir of King Edward the Third.

With this unassailable title, Henry the Eighth ascended the throne in the year 1509, a hundred and nine years after the regular course of succession had been interrupted by the first intrusion of the house of Lancaster. He and his children reigned for a century all but six years. Ever since then the crown has been worn by the descendants of his elder sister.

Those of his younger sister, however, narrowly missed being the royal family. They were, to say the least, within the scratch of a pen of acquiring the legal right to be so.

In the year 1536 parliament passed an Act* which gave to King Henry the Eighth the power of disposing of the crown, in the case of failure of his own issue, to any person he chose, either by his letters patent under the great seal, or by his last will signed with his hand. Seven years later, the Act of 1536 was confirmed in respect to that portion of it, though repealed in others of its clauses, by another Act; † and such continued to be the law of the land to the end of Henry's reign. A Will was undoubtedly drawn up by Henry's direction, by which, in default of issue by his children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, he limited the succession to the descendants of his younger sister Mary, passing over those of his elder sister Margaret.‡ If this Will was really executed by his Majesty according to the form prescribed by the statute, the legal right of succession on the death of Elizabeth was not in the King of Scotland, who was the representative of Margaret Tudor, but in the representative of Mary Tudor, whoever that might be. The original Will, or what was produced as such in the next reign, still exists, and

* Stat. 28 Hen. 8, c. 7. † Stat. 35 Hen. 8, c. 1.

‡ He appointed, in fact, that it should go to the heirs of the body of Mary's two daughters, thus passing over those daughters, his nieces, themselves, although they were both alive at the time when the Will was made. But this was probably done from inadvertence; it was not taken into account by Henry that his nieces might possibly survive the extinction of the three lives of his son and his two daughters, and also of those of all their descendants.

bears what professes to be the signature of Henry the Eighth in two places; the question is whether the signatures were written with his own hand. A few months before his death Henry had appointed three persons to sign with a stamp all instruments requiring his signature; but it has been generally allowed that the signatures to the Will are evidently formed with a pen. Hence it has been concluded that we have here, not the stamp, but, as required by the statute, the King's own handwriting. Dr. Lingard, however, has overthrown that inference, by pointing out a circumstance which had escaped attention, namely, that even when the stamp was used a pen also was employed; the impression was to be made with a *dry* stamp and was then to be filled up with ink; the signatures to the Will, therefore, though formed with a pen, may still not have been formed by the King's own hand.*

Forged or genuine as the signatures may be, it is somewhat strange that such a document should have been preserved to the present day. There have been moments in the course of the three centuries that have elapsed since it was fabricated in which it might have done mischief. It might, indeed, have been contended, as Burnet says it was by many when the Act of 1536 was first passed, that such an Act was of no force, inasmuch as "the succession to the crown was not within the parliament's power to determine about it."† On the other hand, an argument might perhaps have been raised in support of the validity of the Will even on the

* *Hist. Eng.*, VI. 398—400. † *Hist. Reform.*, *Book* III., A.D. 1536.

admission that the signatures were merely stamped. The instrument was, it seems, deposited, by order of the Council, in the Treasury of the Exchequer, on the 9th of March, 1547; and there it remained for all the rest of the sixteenth and for nearly all the seventeenth century. At last it was removed, probably along with other papers, about the year 1695, to the Chapter House at Westminster, where it now is. It appears to have been generally forgotten throughout the era of the Stuarts, till somebody fell upon it and brought it once more to light in the reign of Queen Anne. By that date it had become harmless enough.*

Mary Tudor, the root of what we may call the anti-Stuart title, has, independently of the rights or claims which she left to her posterity, a history of her own which is not without interest.

Born in 1498, she was nine years younger than her sister Margaret, seven years younger than her brother Henry. When she was about five years old she lost her mother; Elizabeth of York died, at the age of thirty-seven, two days after giving birth to another daughter, her eighth child, which also perished with its mother. But even already little Mary had begun to be

* There is a remarkable passage about this Will of Henry the Eighth in *Leicester's Commonwealth*, pp. 169 *et seq.* It is assumed that there was then (in 1584) no lawful or authentical copy of the Will extant, "but only a bare enrolment in the Chancery;" and it is further affirmed that the Council, in the reign of Mary, on being convinced, by the declarations of Lord Paget, Chief Justice Montagu, and William Clark, who put the stamp upon the paper, that the Will never had been signed by King Henry, "caused the said enrolment lying in the Chancery to be cancelled, effaced, and abolished."

counted by her provident father among the pieces in his game of policy and ambition.

According to Bacon, it was at a conference between King Henry and the Archduke Philip of Austria, held in St. Peter's church outside the walls of Calais, in the spring of the year 1500, that the idea was first started of a marriage between the English princess and the Archduke's son and heir Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who was of still tenderer age than Mary, for he had come into the world only in the end of February in this same year. The matter, however, was mentioned merely in the way of a friendly wish; so that, when some four years after this the death of Queen Isabella of Spain had given Philip, in right of his wife, the throne of Castile, he considered himself at liberty to entertain a proposal for matching his son with the daughter of the French King Louis the Twelfth, and to decline a renewal of his negotiation with Henry. On the other hand, overtures for still bringing the marriage with the Princess Mary to bear were secretly made to Henry by Charles's grandfather, Ferdinand of Spain, who conceived that by forwarding such an alliance he would secure the aid of the King of England in his object of retaining the regency of Castile during his life. In this state matters were, when, in January 1506, Philip and his wife Joanna, on their way from the Netherlands to Castile, were obliged by stress of weather to put in at Falmouth; upon which they were detained at the English Court for three months, and Henry extorted from the Archduke his consent to the marriage before he would let

him go. Philip died in September of this same year; and then his father, the Emperor Maximilian, urged upon Henry the fulfilment of the contract between the two children, with the object of getting the English King afterwards to demand from King Ferdinand the regency of Castile, in his quality of guardian to his son-in-law.

A treaty for the completion of the marriage was accordingly concluded with Maximilian at Calais on the 21st of December 1507; and it was actually solemnised by proxy at London early in the following year. Upon this Mary took the title of Princess of Castile. Bacon, who inaccurately makes the treaty to have been perfected only the year before Henry's death, calls it "the last act of state that concluded this King's temporal felicity," and says that he took so high contentment in this alliance, "as in a letter which he wrote thereupon to the city of London, commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same, he expresseth himself as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom; when he had for his sons-in-law a King of Scotland and a Prince of Castile and Burgundy. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great King's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss, in regard of the high marriages of his children, his great renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible riches, and the perpetual constancy of his prosperous successes, but an opportune death to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune."

Nevertheless, the marriage of Mary of England with the Spanish prince, though it had gone so far, went no

farther; nor does her father seem to have counted upon the arrangement being carried out with absolute reliance. When he died, in 1509, he was found to have directed in his Will that the sum of 50,000*l.* should be bestowed as a dower with Mary, whenever she should be married either to Charles, King of Castile, or to any other foreign prince. In October 1513, after the capture of Tournay by Henry the Eighth, it was stipulated by a new treaty, concluded at Lisle between him and Maximilian, that Charles should marry the princess Mary at Calais before the 15th of May next; but, when Henry, some weeks after, called upon the council of regency in Flanders to see this engagement executed, they replied that, for the princess, they would gladly receive her to be espoused to their sovereign, "for she was one of the fairest ladies of the world;" but, in regard to her dower, they could undertake nothing without the assent of the King of Aragon (Ferdinand) and the realm of Castile, in both of which quarters they moreover hinted there seemed to be a wish that the prince should make a Spanish marriage. A similar demand sent in the beginning of the following year was not more satisfactorily answered.

The fact was, that Maximilian had been tempted by the offer for his grandson of the French princess Renée, the younger of the two daughters of Louis XII. That project failed too; but yet, as events turned out, it incidentally answered the purpose of the French King, and enabled him to secure the same close connection with the King of England which he had sought to establish with the Emperor. His Queen, Anne of Bretagne, died,

at the age of thirty-eight, universally lamented, on the 9th of January 1514. Louis is said to have been strongly attached to her; but it was not many months before he made up his mind to demand from Henry the Eighth the hand of his sister, which had so recently been in a manner rejected by her previous suitor. Henry was in no bad mood for giving a favourable reception to such a proposal.

To poor Mary it was probably, at first, somewhat more perplexing. Escaped from or disregarding the formal bond which had for so long held her the nominal bride of the Prince of Castile, she had already given away her young heart—she was only sixteen—to a countryman of her own.

Charles Brandon must have been her senior by a good many years. He was of so new a family, that the genealogists profess to be able to trace his ancestry no farther than to his grandfather, Sir William Brandon, who had been one of the first to join Henry the Seventh, when Earl of Richmond, in wresting the crown from Richard the Third. His father, William Brandon, was Henry's standard-bearer at Bosworth, and was slain there. Charles and Henry the Eighth had been intimate companions and friends before the latter became king. Brandon had every requisite to make him a royal favourite: eminently handsome, skilled in all martial accomplishments, and brave as his sword, he shone conspicuous among the most brilliant cavaliers of his time, drawing to himself the eyes of all men, and still more of all women, wherever he appeared. Dugdale reckons among his special attractions for Henry his conformity

in disposition to his majesty. In one particular at least their lives offer something of a parallel. Brandon's matrimonial career is almost as remarkable as that of Henry himself.

The first lady who appears distinctly in his history is Anne daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, Governor of Calais; with her, we are told, he "being in the court, living sole and unmarried, made a contract of matrimony; but, before any solemnization of marriage, not only had a daughter by her, but also broke promise with her, and openly and solemnly married with the Lady Mortimer." Margaret Lady Mortimer was the widow of Sir John Mortimer, and daughter of John Nevil Marquis of Montagu, the younger brother of Richard Earl of Warwick, the king-maker. I do not find it so stated, but probably the two rival ladies were near relations; for a sister of Lady Mortimer's married one Anthony Browne, whose grandson was created Viscount Montagu, and whose descendants subsisted with that title down to the year 1797. But, be that as it may, Lady Mortimer soon found that she had not secured the quiet possession of Brandon by all the openness and solemnity of the ceremony that had united them. Anne Browne appealed to the law in vindication of her prior rights; and the result was that not only was the marriage with Lady Mortimer found to be illegal and null, but, as it would appear, Brandon was adjudged to fulfil his contract with the other lady. At any rate, he now married Anne Browne as openly and solemnly as he had lately married Lady Montagu; all the nobility, it is recorded, honoured the occasion

with their presence: Anne afterwards bore him another daughter, who became the wife of Thomas Stanley second Lord Monteagle; and she died his wife, universally acknowledged as such.* As for Lady Mortimer, she appears to have afterwards married one Robert Horne.†

Anne Browne, however, cannot have lived very long. In May 1513, with reference to a contract of marriage which he had made some time before with Elizabeth daughter and sole heir of John Grey fourth Viscount Lisle, Brandon was created a peer by that title, with remainder to his heirs by the said Elizabeth; but this lady, when she came of age, which she must have done soon after, refused to be bound by an engagement to which she had perhaps been an unwilling party from the first. She afterwards became the first wife of Henry Courtenay (grandson by his mother to King Edward the Fourth, and first cousin to Henry the Eighth), whom Henry had restored to his ancestral rank of Earl of Devon in 1511, and whom he afterwards created Marquis of Exeter, but who was eventually convicted of treason, and sent to the block, in 1539.

Meanwhile, if we may rely upon Lord Herbert, in October 1513, there was some overture of a match between Brandon and no less high a personage than

* This is the account given by John Hales, in his "Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England," written in 1563. See *Harbin's* (or *Bedford's*) *Hereditary Right of the Crown of England Asserted, Appendix* VII. p. xl. Hales, a contemporary, is evidently well informed, and his tract was written with the object of supporting the claim of Brandon's descendants to the Crown.

† *Dugdale*, I. 308.

the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, who then presided with distinguished ability over the government of the Netherlands as the lieutenant of her nephew Charles. "The overture," says the noble historian, "though it took no effect, was not yet without much demonstration of outward grace and favour on her part."*

These various love adventures and matrimonial projects of Brandon's must have followed one another in

* *Kennet*, II. 17. *See also* 150. Margaret, who was one of the most remarkable women of her time, was, at this date, only thirty-three years of age, but was already in her second widowhood. She was the only daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and was two years younger than her brother, the Archduke Philip. She had in 1483, when only three years old, been affianced to the eldest son of Louis the Eleventh of France, who the same year succeeded his father as Charles the Eighth, and she resided at the French court, with the title of Dauphiness, for about eight years. Charles then sent her home, and married Anne of Bretagne, who had been previously married by proxy to Margaret's father, Maximilian. Four years after this, Margaret, at the age of seventeen, became the wife of John Prince of Asturias, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, but he died a few months after his marriage; and, although she afterwards produced a male child, it was born dead. These misfortunes—followed some years after by the death, in childbed, of their eldest daughter, Isabella Queen of Portugal, and then, in a few months, by that of the son in giving life to whom she had lost her own, and who, if he had lived, would have inherited both the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies — opened the succession of the dominions of Ferdinand and Isabella to their second daughter, Joanna, the wife of Margaret's brother, Philip. Margaret, four years after the death of the Prince of Asturias, remarried Philibert the Second, Duke of Savoy; but he, too, survived only about three years, dying without issue in 1504. She had now, therefore, when Brandon and she encountered, been about nine years a widow. Besides being the aunt by blood of Charles of Castile (afterwards the Emperor Charles the Fifth), the Archduchess Margaret, it is to be remembered, was also, by her first marriage, aunt to Queen Catharine, the wife of Henry the Eighth, who was the third daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. She retained the government of the Netherlands till her death in 1531 in her fifty-first year.

rapid succession. In May 1513 he is engaged to marry Elizabeth Grey, under a contract which had subsisted we do not know how long. In October of the same year, having got rid of that engagement, he is talked of as a husband for the Archduchess Margaret. Apparently not long after the beginning of the next year, Mary Tudor has cast her eyes upon him. It may perhaps be doubted if the English princess had even waited for the answer from the Council of Flanders, which finally released her from all claims on the part of Charles of Castile, before allowing herself to form this new attachment. It is probable, at all events, that it had at first the sanction of her brother. When it had been arranged that Brandon should marry Elizabeth Grey, Henry, as we have seen, made him Viscount Lisle. He now raised him to a much higher honour. On the 1st of February 1514, he was created Duke of Suffolk. It is expressly stated by Polydore Virgil that this was done in contemplation of his becoming his Majesty's brother-in-law.

The temptation of seeing his sister Queen of France, however, was not to be resisted by Henry; and the prospect of such an elevation may not perhaps have been without its seductions for the princess herself. At all events, she submitted. The matter had been privately in agitation for some time before, but Louis the Twelfth's commission to his ambassadors to treat of a peace with the English King on the basis of the marriage was only signed on the 29th of July. The next day, Mary, by a public instrument, formally renounced the contract made for her in her nonage

with Charles of Castile. Two treaties, one of peace and friendship between the two monarchs, the other for the marriage, were both signed on the 7th of August. On the 13th, the marriage was solemnised by proxy at Greenwich, and on the 14th of September in the same form at Paris. Mary set out for France on Monday, the 2nd of October, under the conduct of the Duke of Norfolk, her brother and Queen Catharine accompanying her to the seaside.

Louis the Twelfth was more than three times the age of his young and beautiful bride. She was in her seventeenth year—he in his fifty-third. She was his third wife. From his first, Jane daughter of Louis the Eleventh, to whom he had been married when he was a boy of fourteen, he had, when he came to the crown two-and-twenty years after, obtained a divorce, on the pretext that their union had been all along a compulsory and nominal one—in reality, that he might marry the widow of his predecessor Charles the Eighth, Anne Duchess of Bretagne in her own right. That marriage accordingly took place nine months and two days after the death of Charles, whose wife Anne had been for about seven years. Jane took the habit of a nun, with the title of Duchess of Berry, and survived for six years. Anne, as has been mentioned, had died in January of the present year, (one day after the fifteenth anniversary of her second marriage.) Of two daughters whom she had borne to Louis, besides other children who died in infancy, the eldest, Claude, the heir of her mother's duchy, had been married in May of this year to the presumptive heir to the throne, the

young Francis Count of Angouleme and Duke of Valois, afterwards Francis the First, who now in right of his wife took the title of Duke of Bretagne. Such was the position of affairs at the French court when Mary Tudor went to preside over it.

If it was policy that first instigated Louis to demand the hand of the English princess, he soon came to be a good deal excited by the accounts he received of her personal attractions. The Earl of Worcester (ancestor of the Duke of Beaufort), who had been sent over to Paris to be her proxy at the ceremony of marriage there, now accompanied Louis to Abbeville, where it was arranged that he and the princess should meet; and a letter of his to Cardinal Wolsey, despatched from that place on the 3rd of October, gives a lively account of the state of happy expectation to which his Majesty had by this time been wrought. "My lord," writes Worcester, "I assure you he hath a marvellous mind to content and please the Queen, and since he heard of her landing, which was this morning, there is nothing can displease him; and is devising new collars and goodly gear for her. . . . He showed me the goodliest and the richest sight of jewels that ever I saw. I would never have believed it if I had not seen it; for I assure you all that ever I have seen is not to compare to fifty-six great pieces that I saw of diamonds and rubies, and seven of the greatest pearls that I have seen, besides a great number of other goodly diamonds, rubies, balais,* and great pearls; and the worst of the second sort of stones be priced and

* A species of ruby.

cost two thousand ducats. There is ten or twelve of the principal stones that there hath been refused for one of them one hundred thousand ducats. And, when he had shewed me all, he said that all should be for his wife. And another coffer also was there that was full of goodly girdles, collars, chains, bracelets, beads of gold, and other divers goodly jewels. But, merrily laughing, he said, my wife shall not have all at once, but at divers times; for he would have many and at divers times kisses and thanks for them. I assure you he thinketh every hour a day till he seeth her; he is never well but when he heareth speaking of her. I make no doubt but she shall have a good life with him, with the grace of God."*

Another paragraph of the letter relates to one Jane Popyncourt, a lady of the English Court, who had got the Duke de Longueville (by whom the marriage had been principally negotiated) to move Louis to request that she might accompany the new Queen to France. This arrangement, however, King Henry had given satisfactory reasons for opposing. So now, Worcester writes, "in nowise he would hear more speaking of her, and desired me, as I loved him, to speak no more of her; for he would she were brent, for my fellows and I had showed him enow of her evil life. Moreover he said that there should never man nor woman be about his wife but such as should be at her contentation and pleasure. And, that he spake for the said Jane, it was at the suit and desire of my Lord Longueville, as he told me and my fellows before; for he told him that

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 237.

the Queen loved and trusted her above all the gentlewomen that she had about her; but, if the King made her to be brent, he shall do but well and a good deed."* If there be no other record of Mistress Jane than this, she has not been fortunate in the transmission of her memory to posterity.

Mary landed at Boulogne, and there, Lord Herbert relates, "being met by some principal persons deputed by the King, she was attended on and guarded towards Abbeville; in the way to which the old King on horseback met and saluted her, and afterwards returned himself privately, while she was received into Abbeville with much pomp." This was on Sunday the 8th. On the next day, which was St. Denis's day, they were married in person. Then suddenly followed a proceeding which very much surprised the new-made Queen. On the Tuesday morning, Louis, "after bestowing," says Lord Herbert, "many jewels on her, and rich presents to those who came along," dismissed all her English attendants, male and female, with the exception of a few occupying subordinate places. One of those allowed to remain was Anne Boleyn, at this time a child of seven years old.

To most or all of the persons thus unexpectedly turned off, their discharge was, as Hall observes, "a great sorrow;" some of them had remained long in Mary's service, perhaps with scanty enough allowances, in the calculation that she would be sure to be well married some day or other, and would then be able to make better provision for them; others had lately left

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 236.

good places to enter her service, and now they were thrown quite destitute; "which caused them," continues the chronicler, "to take thought, in so much that some died by the way returning, and some fell mad." Poor Mary herself was also greatly disconcerted, as her own letters testify.

Two days after, while she was still at Abbeville, she wrote both to her brother and to her "loving friend the Archbishop of York," that is, Wolsey. "My good brother," her letter to Henry begins, "as heartily as I can I recommend me unto your Grace, marvelling much that I never heard from you since your departing, so often as I have sent and written to you." And now, she goes on to say, she is left "post alone" indeed; for on the very morning after her marriage not only her chamberlain with all her other men-servants had been discharged, but likewise the Lady Guildford, who appears to have been her principal female attendant, and whom she calls her "mother Guildford," with all her other women and maidens, except only such as never had experience nor knowledge how to advertise or give her counsel in any time of need, "which," she says significantly, "is to be feared more shortly than your Grace thought at the time of my departing, as my mother Guildford can more plainly shew your Grace than I can write; to whom I beseech you to give credence." She implores that she may have her mother Guildford back again, if by any means it be possible; else, if any chance happen other than well, she will not know where nor of whom to look for such counsel as shall be either for her brother's pleasure or

her own profit. She expresses much surprise that the Duke of Norfolk had so easily assented to every thing they had asked of him since they got him in France. "I am well assured," she continues, "that when ye know the truth of every thing as my mother Guildford can shew you, ye would full little have thought I should have been thus entreated." Would God, she passionately prays, that his Lordship of York had come with her in the room of Norfolk; in that case she is sure her heart would have been more at ease than it is now. In conclusion she repeats her earnest entreaty that credence may be given to her mother Guildford.*

That injured lady no doubt came over laden to the throat with all sorts of griefs and atrocities. In the letter to Wolsey Mary refers to her as the person by whom the King and he had wished her in all circumstances to be counselled. "But, for anything I might do," she proceeds, "in nowise might I have any grant for her abode here, which I assure you, my Lord, is much to my discomfort; beside many other discomforts that ye would full little have thought. I have not yet seen in France any lady or gentlewoman so necessary for me as she is, nor yet so meet to do the King my brother service as she is. And for my part, my Lord, as ye love the King my brother and me, find the means that she may in all haste come hither again; for I had as lief lose the winning [living] I shall have in France as to lose her counsel when I shall lack it, which is not like long to be required, as I am sure the noblemen and gentlemen can show you more than becometh me to

* *Ellis, First Series*, I. 117.

write in this matter." Norfolk, she repeats, had not dealt in the best manner either with her mother Guildford or with herself.*

Another letter from Worcester to Wolsey of a few weeks later date throws more light upon this transaction; but there falls first to be noticed a dispatch of Worcester and his colleague Dr. Nicholas West to King Henry from Abbeville, written on the day after the Queen had forwarded her vehement complaints to her brother and my Lord of York. The two ambassadors, or commissioners, give a particular account of the style in which the royal pair had dined every day since their marriage; but all that may be passed over. Their details respecting King Louis, and his gradual way of making over his jewels to his bride, are of more interest. After their marriage, it is stated, on the same day he gave her "a marvellous great pointed diamond, with a ruby almost two inches long, without foil," which some valued at ten thousand marks. The next day he gave her "a ruby two inches and a half long, and as big as a man's finger, hanging by two chains of gold at every end, without any foil; the value whereof few men could esteem." Finally, on the Wednesday he gave her a great tablet diamond, with a great round pearl hanging by it; "and every day," it is added, "he gave her also rings with stones of great estimation." He made semblance as if he would leave Abbeville every day; "but yet," concludes the dispatch, "he lyeth still, ever excusing him by his gout. The Queen is continually with him, of whom he maketh as much, as she reporteth

* *Ellis, First Series*, I. 118.

to us herself, as it is possible for any man to make of a lady."* And had the rubies and diamonds, then, cast such a *glamour* over her bright eyes that, for the present at least, the vision of the handsome and accomplished Suffolk no longer rose between her and the gouty and enfeebled old King?

Mary was solemnly crowned in the Abbey of St. Denis on Sunday the 8th of November; and Worcester's letter to Wolsey is written from that place on the next day. It appears that, in compliance with the request of his sister, King Henry had directed that Louis should be sounded on the subject of Lady Guildford's re-call. Worcester states that he had done all that he could in the matter, and reports how his application had been received by the French King. "He hath answered me," he writes, "that his wife and he be in good and perfect love as ever any two creatures can be, and both of age to rule themselves, and not to have servants that should look to rule him or her." There could be no question, certainly, upon that point in regard to Louis himself; but it is a royal way of putting the case thus to talk as if he and his wife were much about the same age. Let us, however, hear what more his Majesty said. "If his wife," Worcester goes on with his report, "need of counsel or to be ruled, he is able to do it. But he was sure it was never the Queen's mind nor desire to have her again; for, as soon as she came on land, and also when he was married, she began to take upon her not only to rule the Queen, but also that she should not come to him but she should be with her,

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 243.

nor that no lady nor lord should speak with her but she should hear it, and began to set a murmur and banding amongst ladies of the court. And then he swore that there was never man that better loved his wife than he did, but, or he would have such a woman about her, he had liefer be without her. And he said that he knew well, when the King his good and loving brother knew this his answer, he would be contented; for in nowise he would not have her about his wife. And he said that he is a sickly body, and not [in a condition], at all times that he would be merry with his wife, to have any strange woman with her, but one that he is well acquainted withal, afore whom he durst be merry; and that he is sure the Queen his wife is content withal, for he hath set about her neither lady nor gentlewoman to be with her for her masters, but her servants, and to obey her commandments." Worcester felt that there was much reason in all this, and pressed the matter no farther. The Queen too now professed to be perfectly satisfied with her situation. She told Worcester that she loved my Lady Guildford well, but was content that she should not come back, for she was so placed that she was very well without her, seeing she might do whatever she chose.* That, certainly, was something still better than the superintendence of Mother Guildford, however wise and vigilant.

Her Majesty's position, however, was in some respects a delicate and difficult one; perhaps it was made more so by some circumstances which had already arisen. Before the end of October there arrived in Paris an

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 247.

embassy from King Henry of England, and at its head Mary's late lover, the Duke of Suffolk. It was the last day of that month before Louis returned with his Queen from Abbeville to St. Denis; and she and Suffolk appear to have first found themselves in one another's presence on the Sunday following, at her coronation in the Abbey, as he stood, along with the other members of the embassy, in the place assigned to them at the one end of the choir, on the right side of the high altar, right in front of where her Majesty, kneeling down, was anointed with the holy oil.* The thoughts of both at that moment may well be supposed to have been perplexed enough. But nearer to her than Suffolk, in that august ceremonial, moved another personage, who, if all that is told may be believed, was already her declared, or at least her devoted, admirer. The lately married Duke of Bretagne, standing behind her as she sat in the chair of state, all the time that the high mass was singing held the massive crown over her head in his uplifted hands, that, for a brief space at least, none of the weight of the symbol might press upon the brow which it irradiated. It is probable enough that the very inflammable heart of Francis had been kindled by the beauty which struck every eye with admiration from the moment Mary set foot upon the soil of France; and he would be little likely to be restrained in the pursuit of his object by any considerations either moral or prudential; but what Brantome, and other French writers, affirm, that the young Queen encouraged and shared the passion avowed by the husband of her

* See the dispatch of the ambassador in *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 250.

step-daughter, may be pronounced to be a calumny not supported by any evidence, and discountenanced by all the facts and circumstances of the case.

The attachment understood to have so recently existed between her Majesty and Suffolk, however, was of course well known in France. The story of the English chroniclers is, that Suffolk was on this account regarded with general jealousy and dislike by the French; and the Duke of Bretagne in particular is charged with having actually sought his life. Suffolk and the other ambassadors, in their dispatch giving an account of the Queen's coronation, written from Paris on the Tuesday after, end their relation by informing Henry that on the following Sunday, by the grace of God, the justs were to begin. These justs had been proclaimed by the Duke of Bretagne at Abbeville before the departure of the Duke of Norfolk and the other persons who had accompanied Mary from England; and the Duke of Suffolk and his associates, when they set out on their embassy, had obtained King Henry's leave to take part in them. Accordingly, when they came over, the Duke of Bretagne, or the Dauphin, as Francis was also called, requested both Suffolk and the Marquis of Dorset to be of the number of his nine aids or fellow combatants, with whose assistance he had engaged to answer all comers, that were gentlemen of name and arms, both on horseback and on foot; and the two English noblemen had consented so to stand by him. Their generosity was but unhandsomely requited, if there be any truth in the narrative of the old chronicler Hall, who has described the three

days' fighting with his customary particularity and gusto.

The justs began on Sunday, the 12th of November, (not on Tuesday the 7th, as Hall and Herbert state). First on that morning the Dauphin and his aids entered the field, all arrayed in cloth of gold, cloth of silver, and crimson velvet. "They showed themselves," we are told, "before the King and Queen, who were on a goodly stage, and the Queen stood so that all men might see her, and wondered at her beauty, and the King was feeble, and lay upon a couch for weakness." In the three days each of three hundred and five men of arms ran five courses with sharp spears; "divers," says the chronicler, parenthetically, "were slain and not spoken of." "The English Lords and Knights," he declares, "did as well as the best of any other." The Duke of Suffolk hurt a gentleman that he was like to die; the Marquis of Dorset, striking another with his spear, pierced his headpiece, and put him in jeopardy; each also, in the first tourney, overthrew a man of arms, horse and man; "and yet the Frenchmen would in nowise praise them." On this first day the Dauphin was disabled by a hurt in the hand, so that the next day, when the fight at the barriers began, he could not perform his challenge, and Suffolk and Dorset began the field, "and took the barriers with spears in hand, abiding all comers." It is asserted that now Francis secretly had a certain German, who was the tallest and strongest man in all the Court of France, brought and put in the place of another person, in the hope of giving Suffolk a check:

the man "came to the bars fiercely, with his face hid, because he would not be known," and bore his spear against Suffolk with all his strength; but the Duke first by strong strokes drove him back from the barrier, and then with the butt end of his spear struck him so that he staggered; the German, however, continued to strike strongly and hardly at the Duke, and the judges, Hall alleges, suffered the encounter to go on much beyond the appointed number of blows; but when they saw the German reel and stagger, then they let fall the rail between them. They again encountered, after taking breath, with bated swords, and had another sore fight; till Suffolk, by pure strength took his antagonist round the neck, and pummelled him so about the head, that the blood issued out of his nose; then they were separated, and the German, Hall affirms, was conveyed away by the Dauphin, lest he should be known. We need not question what is related of the prowess of the English Duke; but let us hope that his patriotic ardour has made the chronicler too credulous, and that he has wronged the chivalry of Francis of Valois in the conduct and motives here attributed to him.

Suffolk himself, in writing to Wolsey from Paris on the 18th, merely mentions that the lists were then over, adding, "and, blessed be God, all our English men sped well, as I am sure ye shall hear by other." But he informs Wolsey that a few days before he and Dorset had had an interview with the Queen, when she told them divers things, "the which," he says, "we will show you at our coming, whereby we perceive that she

had need of some good friends about the King." They thereupon took their colleagues into counsel, and showed them part of the matter; and they had afterwards sent for the Duke de Longueville and three other persons of eminence at the French Court, to whom they stated that they did so by the Queen's desire, and that they had to request of them, in her behalf and in the name of her brother of England, "that they would be good and loving to her, and that they would give her counsel from time to time how she might best order herself to content the King, whereof she was most desirous; and in her should lack no good will; and, because she knew well they were the men that the King loved and trusted, and [that] knew best his mind, therefore she was utterly determined to love them and trust them, and to be ordered by their counsel in all causes, for she knew well that those that the King loved must love her best, and she them." In all this Longueville and the others had promised that all reliance might be placed on them.* Mary has already begun to feel, in the midst of her splendour, the chill of the loneliness in which she is about to be left; but everything that we have yet seen of her augurs well for the way in which she will perform her part.

That she continued to retain the love and entire confidence of her husband we have the strongest assurance under Louis's own hand. Writing to his brother of England from Paris on the 28th of December, the French King expresses in the warmest terms his satis-

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 258.

faction with his wife, "who," says his Majesty, "up to this time has conducted herself, and does conduct herself from day to day, towards me in such a manner as that I cannot but declare how greatly pleased and contented I am with her (*grandement me louer et contenter d'elle*), and must always more and more love her, and honour her, and hold her dear; wherefore you may be sure that my wish is, and ever will be, to treat her in all things in such fashion as shall equally content her and you." And then his Majesty goes on to express with almost equal warmth his admiration of his cousin of Suffolk, and of all that he had seen of his virtues, his manners, his honourable bearing, and his general worth of character (*ses vertuz, meurs, honnestete, et bonnes conditions*).*

But poor Louis was to have a very short lease of all this felicity. "The good King," says an old chronicler quoted by the President Hainault, "for the sake of his wife, had changed his manner of living altogether; for, whereas he loved to dine at eight o'clock in the morning, it now suited that he should dine at noon; and, whereas he loved to go to bed at six o'clock in the evening, he now often did not get to bed till midnight." The result was that his life was brought to an end on new year's day 1515,—four days after the date of the above letter to his brother-in-law, and within twelve weeks after his marriage.

It cannot be supposed that the death of her husband would be a very severe bereavement to Mary; but yet

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 261.

it probably did not fall upon her altogether unfelt. She seems to have been of a pliant and accommodating temper, and she would be by this time becoming reconciled to the inevitable; gentle and affectionate, or at least apt to be acted upon by kindness, she could hardly but be somewhat drawn to Louis by his devotedness, and even by his very sufferings and helplessness; then the suddenness of the event would make it more of a shock, if it was as unlooked for as Louis's letter just quoted would lead us to infer that it must have been. At any rate, in ceasing to be Queen Consort of France, the sharer of one of the first thrones in Europe, she had lost a dazzling position, and one from which she might not be quite pleased to descend, however little she had originally coveted it.

Nobody could expect that she would long remain a widow; yet the haste with which the question of a new marriage was brought under her notice from some quarters is startling. Her friend Wolsey, it would appear, had written to her upon that subject almost the moment he heard of the death of Louis. Her reply to his "kind and loving letter" is dated from Paris the 10th of January. It is marked by good feeling and good sense. "Now," she writes, "I have none other to put my trust in but the King my brother and you. And as it shall please the King my brother and his council I will be ordered. . . . . And, whereas you advise me that I should make no promise, my Lord, I trust the King my brother and you will not reckon in me such childhood. I trust I have so ordered myself so since that I came hither, that I trust

it hath been to the honour of the King my brother and me, since I came hither, and so I trust to continue." Then she anxiously reiterates her assurances of regard, and of the happiness it would give her to be of any service to Wolsey, "in these parts;" subscribing herself, "Your loving friend, MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE."*

Mary remained in France for some months. The next of her letters that we have is one to her brother, dated from Paris on the 6th of March, in which she most humbly beseeches Henry that it may please him with all convenient speed to send for her, in order that she may shortly see his Grace; "which," she says, "is the thing that I most desire in this world." But there had been much talk before this time, if nothing had yet been finally arranged, as to the disposing of the young, beautiful, well-dowered, and highly connected widow. Both the Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain would now have been glad to secure her hand for her old suitor the Prince of Castile. At one time, it is asserted, Francis of Valois, now Francis the First of France, had intended to propose a match between her Majesty and the Duke of Savoy,† Charles the Third, the brother and successor of that Philibert the Second who had married Margaret of Austria. But, for whatever reasons, he soon made up his mind to another arrangement. In the beginning of February the Duke of Suffolk once more presented himself in Paris at the head of an embassy sent by Henry to offer his condolence to the new French King; and after his

* *Ellis, First Series*, I. 121. † *Lord Herbert*, in *Kennet*, II. 22.

first audience Francis took the Duke aside and advised him at once to marry the Queen, of the state of whose affections he intimated he was well aware. His Majesty at the same time undertook to pacify Henry. Suffolk, nevertheless, hesitated, and Mary was herself obliged to take the most energetic measures; she gave him four days to make up his mind, and no more, and on the fourth day he consented to run the risk. Meanwhile she had written to her brother to inform him that, rather than marry where she had no inclination, she would take refuge in a nunnery. She and Suffolk were privately married on the 31st of March.

Henry, "for the conservation of his dignity," says Lord Herbert, "held a little off;" but it was probably only for appearance sake. After the marriage his sister wrote to him again, taking all the blame upon herself, and particularly relating how she had fixed the Duke by appointing him the term of four days in which to secure her or to lose her for ever. "Whereby," continues Lord Herbert, "as also through the good offices of Francis, who, fearing lest our King by her means should contract some greater alliance, did further this marriage, our King did by degrees restore them to his favour; Wolsey also not a little contributing thereunto, while he told our King how much better she was bestowed on him than on some person of quality in France." So at last the two took their leave of the French Court on the 19th of April, all Mary's English attendants accompanying her, with the exception only of little Anne Boleyn, who remained in France for seven years longer under the protection of Queen

Claude. Besides that order had been taken for the payment of her jointure of sixty thousand crowns *per annum*, Mary also brought away with her jewels, plate, and tapestry, which had been given her by King Louis, to the value, as French writers calculate, of two hundred thousand crowns. Among the diamonds, Lord Herbert tells us, was one of unusual size, called *Le Miroir de Naples*, which she carried off "not without much reluctation of Francis, who would fain have redeemed it at a great price." On the 25th of April her Majesty and the Duke, thus richly laden, reached Calais, where they were honourably received by the authorities, and where they remained for a week. Then, taking ship on the 2nd of May, they landed at Dover the same night. What with her two marriages and all the rest, Mary had seen a good deal of life since she set sail from that port seven months before. On the 13th of May she and the Duke were solemnly and publicly re-married at Greenwich; and not long after Henry made a grant to his new brother-in-law of all the lordships, manors, lands, and tenements which had belonged to the last Duke of Suffolk,—the unfortunate Edmund de la Pole, beheaded some two years ago, whose mother was a sister of King Edward the Fourth, and whose grandmother was the grand-daughter of Geoffrey Chaucer.

There is little more to be told of Mary Tudor. Her union with Brandon is believed to have continued to the last to be affectionate and happy. He was evidently an easy-tempered, good-natured fellow, and, in the

matter of women especially, of the most accommodating disposition. Mary bore him a son, Henry, whom his uncle in 1525 created Earl of Lincoln, but who died unmarried in the life-time of his father; and two daughters, Frances and Eleanor. Latterly her health seems to have given way; the last of her letters that we have is a short note to her brother, without date of time or place, but given by Sir Henry Ellis under the year 1528, in which she states that she has been very sick and ill at ease, and had been fain to send for Master Peter, the physician, to help her in the disease that she has. "Wherefore," she goes on, "I trust shortly to come up to London with my Lord. For, and if I should tarry here, I should never asperse the sickness that I have. Wherefore, Sir, I would be the gladder a great deal to come thither, because I would be glad to see your Grace, the which I do think long for to do; for I have been a great while out of your sight; for the sight of your Grace is to me the greatest comfort to me that may be possible." She still subscribes herself "Your loving sister, MARY THE FRENCH QUEEN."* It was by that title that she henceforth continued to be always known. At last she died, at the Duke's manor of Westthorpe, in Suffolk, on the 25th of June 1533, having just lived to see Catharine of Aragon divorced and her own former attendant Anne Boleyn crowned Queen in her stead. She was buried on the 22nd of July in the monastery of St. Edmundsbury, where, after it had lain for two centuries and a half, her body was found on the 6th of

* *Ellis, First Series*, I. 304.

September 1784 in a wonderful state of preservation, and the ringlet of hair was cut from her head by Sir John Cullum, which was the other day knocked down at Stowe for a few pounds to a dealer in curiosities, in the lamentable crash of the fortunes of the nobleman who boasts himself the chief of her living lineage.

As for Brandon, some years after losing Mary he married Catharine, the young Baroness Willoughby D'Eresby, only child of William the ninth Baron; and by her he had two sons. She had been his ward. He survived till 1545, and then was succeeded by his eldest son Henry as second Duke; but both he and his brother Charles were carried off in their boyhood by the sweating sickness, in the Bishop of Lincoln's house at Bugden in Huntingdonshire, on the same day, the 14th of July 1551.* On this the dukedom expired; and even the great landed inheritance of which the first Duke had died seised in fee, having descended to his son, or sons, and not being capable of passing to the half-blood, was carried away from his two daughters to his uncles and aunts and their posterity. His widow, who survived him thirty-five years, re-married Richard Bertie,

* Sir John Hayward (*Edward* VI. in *Kennet*, II. 319) and Bishop Godwin (*Annals*, A.D. 1551) reckon both brothers Dukes of Suffolk. Bishop Godwin, who describes them as "young gentlemen of great and lively hopes," says, "By the death of Henry the duchy was for some few hours devolved to the younger brother, who had the unhappy honour but to be seised of the title and die." But the fullest and most authentic account of the two dukes is contained in a Latin letter by Sir Thomas Wilson, which was printed soon after their deaths, and some extracts from which may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1825, Vol. XCV. Part II. p. 206. See *Machyn's Diary*, pp. 8, 9; and *Notes*, pp. 318, 319.

Esquire, and became by him the progenitor of the succeeding Barons Willoughby D'Eresby, as also of the Earls of Lindsey and the late Dukes of Ancaster.

Through her two daughters the line of Mary Tudor has been extended to the present day. Both have many existing descendants.

A curious fact with regard to these ladies may here be noticed. Anne, the daughter born to Brandon by his first wife Anne Browne before marriage, had become the wife of Edward Grey Lord Grey of Powis; and she, it seems, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, took certain legal proceedings for the purpose of establishing the illegitimacy of her two half-sisters, the daughters of Mary Tudor. The result was, however, that they were declared legitimate, both by the common law and by the law of the realm. Lady Grey, or Lady Powis, as she is more usually called, must of course have disputed the legality of her father's marriage with the French Queen; yet it is difficult to understand how she was in that way to make out her own legitimacy, which must be supposed to have been her main object. In her testament, it seems, she designates herself one of Brandon's daughters and co-heirs.* Lord Grey, who had

* *Dugdale* II. 284. In King Edward the Sixth's *Journal*, under date of 9th February 1552, is the following entry:—"John Beaumont, Master of the Rolls, was put in prison for forging a false deed from Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, to the Lady Anne Powis, of certain lands and leases." Lady Powis had sold her pretended title to the lands in question to Beaumont, who had thereupon forged the deed to establish his possession. He is said to have confessed the forgery under his own hand. See *Biographia Britannica*, Art. *Lady Jane Grey*, Note A; and *Strype, Eccles. Mem.* Vol. II. Part II. p. 44.

no issue by his wife, died in 1551, leaving all his estates to a family of natural children whom he had by Jane daughter of Sir Lewes Orwell, and to the said Jane herself, with whom he appears to have lived after his marriage. He was the third and last Lord Grey of Powis. His widow re-married Randal Hanworth, Esquire, and survived till 1558.*

It was Frances, the elder of the two daughters of Mary Tudor, who carried the claim she inherited to the crown into one of the branches of the house of Grey. Roger, the second son of John second Lord Grey of Wilton, and brother of Henry third Lord, was created Baron Grey de Ruthyn in 1324. From his grandson, Reginald third Lord Grey de Ruthyn, sprung Thomas Grey, who was in 1449 created Baron Grey of Rugemont, and the Greys Earls and Dukes of Kent, with their descendants the possessors of the Marquesate, now the Earldom, of De Grey. Reginald's son, Edward fourth Lord Grey de Ruthyn, was also fifth Baron Astley by maternal descent and sixth Baron Ferrers of Groby in right of his wife. His son, John seventh Lord Ferrers, commonly called Sir John Grey, was the first husband of Elizabeth Widville, who afterwards became the wife of King Edward the Fourth, and was the father by her of Thomas, whom Edward created Marquis of Dorset in 1475. His grandson, Henry third Marquis of Dorset, married the Lady Frances Brandon, and was in October 1551 (the same day on which the Earl of Warwick was made Duke of

* *Machyn*, 163, 362, 404.

Northumberland) raised by Edward the Sixth to the Dukedom of Suffolk, which dignity had a few months before reverted to the crown by the deaths of his wife's two brothers, as above related.

The children of Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk and Frances Brandon were three daughters, the celebrated Lady Jane Grey and her younger sisters, Catharine and Mary. Of the three, only Catharine, the second, left issue. She was, by Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford, son of the Protector Somerset, the mother of Edward Lord Beauchamp, who died in the lifetime of his father, but whose son William was created Marquis of Hertford in 1640, and restored to the title of Duke of Somerset in 1660. This William Duke of Somerset (reckoned the third Duke) was the father of Henry Lord Beauchamp, who did not live to come to the Dukedom, and whose only son, the fourth Duke, died unmarried in 1671, but whose daughter, Elizabeth Seymour, became the wife of Thomas Bruce second Earl of Ailesbury (as also third Earl of Elgin in the Scottish peerage), and the mother of Charles third Earl of Ailesbury (and fourth Earl of Elgin). This Charles third Earl of Ailesbury left only a daughter, Mary, who married Henry Brydges second Duke of Chandos, and was the mother of James the third duke. He died in 1789, leaving only a daughter, the Lady Anne Eliza Brydges, who in 1796 married Richard Temple Grenville Earl Temple, who in 1813 succeeded his father as second Marquis of Buckingham, and was in 1822 created Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. The Duchess was therefore the heir general and repre-

sentative of Mary Tudor; and since the death of her Grace in 1836 that position has been inherited by her son the present Duke of Buckingham.

But Frances Brandon and her two younger daughters (her eldest belongs to History) must not be yet dismissed.

THE SISTERS OF LADY JANE GREY.

Both in England and Scotland, in the first days of the Reformation, and probably it was the same in other countries that had been similarly swept by the hurricane of the great religious revolution, men's moral notions would seem to have been on some points almost as much shaken and disturbed as their theological faith. On the great central question of marriage, in particular, a general disposition to break loose from the ancient restraints was strongly evinced. The church historian Strype, who will not be suspected of exaggeration in regard to such a matter, has a remarkable passage on this subject in his *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer* under the year 1549. About this time, he states, the nation became infamous for the violation of the marriage vow. "It begun among the nobility, and so spread at length among the inferior sort. Noblemen would very frequently put away their wives, and marry others, if they liked another woman better, or were like to obtain wealth by her." Then, after mentioning several instances, he adds; "These adulteries and divorces increased much; yea, and marrying again without divorce; which became a great scandal to the realm." And he refers to a sermon of Latimer's preached before King Edward in 1550, in which the good Bishop vehemently implored his Majesty and the

government that they would, "for the love of God, take an order for marriage here in England."

The law of marriage is the great point in the social system where morality and religion come into contact; such, at least, had long been the universal notion of the Christian world. It was almost inevitable, therefore, that the pulling down of the old ecclesiastical fabric should leave this part of the general edifice of established opinion and habit in a somewhat crazy state. So great and fundamental a change as that of a people's religious belief might well bring along with it any other change, political or social; but here the two things had a special connexion, or bearing the one upon the other. In the old religion, marriage was a sacrament; in the new, it was none. That degradation of it was alone enough to expose the institution to much danger of being for a time treated with diminished respect, in spite of both the general spirit of stricter morality which was part and parcel of the reformed doctrine, and all the high tone of thought and feeling which the mighty struggle in which men were engaged, or from which they had just emerged, tended to generate and sustain. We have seen how marriage, formerly a sacrament of the Church, has come at length in England to be recognised by the law as no longer having necessarily anything to do with religion at all.

Even the permission of marriage to the clergy, brought in by the Reformation, was an innovation which could not be made without some risk of impairing the old reverence for it as well as for them, by presenting it to

the imagination in the light more of an indulgence than of either a solemnity or a compact. To be even a forbidden thing was a kind of sanctity.

Then the despotic superintendence exercised by the papal power in the matter of marriage had from the first been inveighed against and denounced by all sections of the Reformers as among its worst usurpations; so that people were naturally led to think that greater freedom of action here was one of the chief constituents of the emancipation they had achieved from their former bondage. Such notions were especially encouraged by the Puritanical party, who never were much more satisfied with the doctrine of the Reformed English Church upon this subject than they had been with that of Popery, and would, if they might, have taken away not only the sacramental character but the indissolubility of marriage.

That proposition, indeed, was not without plausible recommendations. The yoke of absolute indissolubility had been made tolerable under the old church by the very abuses of the system which then prevailed—the dispensations, on the one hand, by which almost any marriage might be permitted and sanctioned; the capacious prohibitory rules or principles, on the other, by the strict or strained application of some one of which almost any marriage might be annulled. The class of persons who had heretofore been accustomed to find this machinery readily available in most cases of need could scarcely be expected at once to reconcile themselves to the state of things established by the Reformation in England, under which it was become

all but impossible that a marriage once entered into could be legally dissolved in any circumstances. Modern times have had recourse to parliamentary divorces to supply the place of the old papal declarations of nullity; but such divorces were nearly unknown for some ages after the Reformation. And yet the generation that made that revolution may be supposed to have most felt the need of such relief, habituated as it had been to the laxity or pliability of the Romish system, and reared in the notions and feelings thereby produced.

It is remarkable in how many of the cases to be met with in the family history of the latter half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, in which it was attempted, with or without success, either to break violently through the inflexible law of marriage, or irregularly to overleap its iron barriers, the impatient trespassers were among the most conspicuous leaders or zealots of puritanic Protestantism. The instances of Leicester and Devonshire, recorded in our first volume, by no means stand alone; but the example had been set in a style not to be surpassed by the great author of the English Reformation, Henry the Eighth himself, as originated and driven on by whom that mighty movement may almost be said to have been little else than a spasmodic struggle to free himself from the shackles of one marriage that he might rush into another. Henry's bold doings could not but tell with powerful effect upon public opinion in regard to this matter, not only in England but in other Protestant countries. His successive marriages and repudiations were a drama acted in the sight of all Europe, as if for

the express purpose of showing forth the unbounded liberty which the rejection of Romanism conferred. Whatever the law might say, it was impossible that the principle of the indissolubility of marriage could be generally held in much reverence by Englishmen, or quietly submitted to by any one among them who might deem himself powerful or clever enough to set it at defiance, after such an exhibition. His Majesty's personal friends and near connexions more especially, and in general all persons who were much about the court, could hardly avoid imbibing the most liberal notions as to their matrimonial rights and obligations. We have seen with how light and careless a step Charles Brandon appears to have moved about, not only through a succession of overtures and contracts, but even backward and forward between one wife and another. The case of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, (afterwards Duke of Suffolk,) who married the Lady Frances, the elder of the two daughters of Brandon and Mary Tudor, supplies another illustration of the same kind.

Sir John Hayward characterises the Marquis of Dorset as "a man, for his harmless simplicity, neither misliked nor much regarded." On which Strype annotates:—"A disparaging character given of a great man, without much, if any, ground for it. This character I can give of him, that he was a great friend to the Reformation, and a patron of learned men."* Dorset

* *Hayward's Edward VI.*, in *Kennet*, II. 320. See also *Strype's Eccles. Mem.* II. Part II. 191, and III. Part I. 146.

appears to have been a man of a higher order of mind than Hayward's splenetic account of him would lead us to suppose. He was evidently a person of very considerable literary accomplishment, as we might expect to find the father of Lady Jane Grey; his letters are capitally written; and he had probably many estimable qualities. Nor, where his character was defective, would it seem to have been in the way of simplicity or weakness, but rather in that of conceit and pertinacity, the produce of a narrow, not a soft, understanding. This is the impression made by his daughter's report of him. Lady Jane described both her parents to Roger Ascham as almost beyond endurance sharp and severe:—"When I am in presence," she said, "of either father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, bobs, and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them), so without measure disordered, that I think myself in hell."*

The Marquis was no doubt, as Strype affirms, a zealous adherent of the Reformation; but that is no sufficient reason for suppressing or passing over in silence so remarkable a fact in his history as his first marriage. The circumstances, indeed, are imperfectly known; but it seems to be admitted that Frances Brandon was not his first wife, and that when he married that lady the other

* *Schoolmaster.*

was still living. She is stated to have been Catharine, daughter of William Fitzalan, seventeenth Earl of Arundel. Dugdale, though in one place he makes all the four daughters of Lord Arundel to have died unmarried,* elsewhere gives Catharine as Dorset's first wife, adding simply that he had no issue by her;† and this seems to be all the authority that Collins has for saying that it was upon her death without issue that Dorset re-married Frances Brandon.‡ But older writers tell the story in more detail. Parsons the Jesuit, in his *Conference about the Succession,* the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth,* and Mill, in his *Catalogue of Honor,* are substantially in accordance; and their account is this:—Dorset's father and Arundel, being great friends, agreed that the two families should be united by a double alliance, and the eldest son of each married a daughter of the other; the arrangement had the expected effect of making the two young men as great friends as their fathers for some time; at length, however, Dorset, having cast his eyes upon Frances Brandon, took measures to get himself released from his marriage with Catharine Fitzalan, which had probably been entered into when he was in his minority; his proceedings were opposed by his brother-in-law, but without effect; and it was finally arranged that he should settle an annuity upon his repudiated wife, and that she should give him no farther trouble. She is said to have survived Dorset several years.

This first marriage of Dorset's must have taken place before 1530; for in that year his father died. In 1530

* *Baronage,* I. 324. † *Id.* 721. ‡ *Peerage,* tit. *Earl of Stamford.*

the Lady Frances Brandon, even if she had been born within the first twelvemonth after the marriage of her father and mother, would be only fourteen. But she must have become Marchioness of Dorset by 1536 at the latest, if the date commonly assigned to the birth of her eldest daughter, Lady Jane Grey, be correct; and it cannot be far wrong. The Marquis, who, as mentioned in the preceding narrative, was, in October 1551, after the death of his wife's two brothers, raised to the Dukedom of Suffolk, was pardoned by Mary for the part he had taken in the attempt to set his daughter upon the throne, but, engaging in Wyat's rebellion in the beginning of the following year, suffered death on Tower Hill on Friday the 23rd of February 1554, eleven days after the axe had fallen upon his daughter and her husband. The person, it is worthy of remark, who presided as High Steward at his trial, and pronounced his sentence, was the Earl of Arundel, his former friend and brother-in-law.

The Duke, who, although sent to the Tower on Mary's accession in July 1553, had been discharged after a detention of three days, is said to have owed the clemency with which he was treated to the intercession of his wife and the regard or at least the compassion felt for her by her cousin the Queen. The Duchess had afterwards been very kindly received at court, and there can be little doubt that the favour she enjoyed would soon have enabled her to procure the liberation of her daughter if her husband had rested satisfied with the escape he had already made, and had not by a new treason, which proved as utter a failure as the former,

brought down destruction upon himself and so many of his nearest connexions; for, besides his daughter and his son-in-law, his brother the Lord Thomas Grey, upon whom at his trial he threw the blame of having been his seducer, was also brought to the block. It has been said that his widow soon after withdrew from the kingdom;* but this appears to be a mistake occasioned by confounding her with the other Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, the widow of Charles Brandon.† The Duchess Frances, Grey's widow, only took refuge in a second marriage, — "so far forgetting the greatness of her descent," says Camden, "as to accept for an husband Adrian Stokes, a gentleman, but in mean circumstances; which, however much it might tend to her dishonour, yet she seemed to do it for her own security."‡ Other accounts describe Stokes as being one of her domestics; he may have held some such office in her establishment as that in which Blunt served Leicester's widow before he married her. The author of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, indeed, expressly calls him her horse-keeper. Whatever were her means, the Duchess appears to have lived in considerable state; she and Stokes resided together in the Charter House, then a mansion of the first class.

This was a more startling *mésalliance* than that made a generation later by the Countess of Leicester. She was nearly connected with the crown by the accidental elevation of a relative to the position of Queen Consort; but Stokes's wife was directly sprung from the royal

* *Lodge*, I. 256.

† See *Fox's Martyrology*, under A.D. 1558.

‡ *Elizabeth*, 394.

stock, was the grand-daughter of King Henry the Seventh, the niece of Henry the Eighth, the first cousin of King Edward, of Queen Mary, and of Queen Elizabeth. Besides, her issue had been expressly appointed by Henry the Eighth to succeed to the crown next after that of his own children; so that Stokes had a chance of Banquo's fortune, and might become the father of a race of kings. It is not obvious how the Duchess should be thought to have consulted her security by this marriage; one would rather conjecture that it was an affair of inclination. She cannot yet have been much past forty, if she was even so old. Stokes, whatever was his precise position, appears to have been a person of education; his legal style is *armiger* and *esquire;* and after his marriage he seems to have been in habits of familiar association with his wife's noble friends and connexions. This we gather from the proceedings in the affair of the marriage of her second daughter, to be presently noticed.

The Duchess, however, enjoyed her new matrimony, by which she never became a mother, only a very few years. Camden is certainly in error in making her to have lived till 1563; she died in the latter end of the year 1559. A warrant was issued by Queen Elizabeth on the 3rd of December in that year, directing Garter and Clarencieux Kings of Arms to cause the royal ensigns to be borne at her funeral and placed on her monument. The monument, apparently erected at the charge of her second husband, is still to be seen in Westminster Abbey; it exhibits her robed effigy

recumbent, with some Latin elegiac couplets, to the effect that beauty and splendour and a royal name, and whatever else once was hers, are all gone, the memory of her virtue alone excepted—and that, having been first the wife of a Duke, then of Squire Stock, she is now united to her Maker:—

> "Nupta Duci prius est, uxor post Armigeri Stock,
> Funere nunc, valeas, consociata Deo."

The Duchess had survived the bloody death of the eldest of her three daughters nearly six years; she was taken away while a new series of circumstances and events was just opening, which was ere long to envelope her second daughter in a still more melancholy fate.

Strype makes the Duke and Duchess to have had a son, Henry, styled Lord Harrington, who, he says, died without issue;* the common account gives them only three daughters, Jane, Catharine, and Mary. According to the date assigned to the birth of Jane, Catharine cannot have been born before 1538. On the same day on which her elder sister was married to the Lord Guildford Dudley, in the end of May 1553, she was married to Henry Lord Herbert, the eldest son of William Earl of Pembroke. At this time she cannot have been more than fifteen, and may not have been so old. This part of her story has been somewhat obscurely and variously related. All that we know for certain is, that, when everything was changed by the failure of the scheme for placing Catharine's sister upon the throne, Herbert's father contrived to get

* *Eccles. Mem.* II. *Part* II. 157.

the marriage dissolved or declared null. Sir Robert Naunton, who affects to explain the matter, makes Pembroke to have, before the young couple came together, fallen at the feet of Queen Mary, under a sudden terror of the danger to his son from an intermarriage with the blood royal; when, as it is expressed, "he both acknowledged his presumption, and projected the cause and the divorce together." "So quick he was at his work," Naunton adds, "that in the time of repudiation of the said Lady Grey, he claps up a marriage for his son (the Lord Herbert) with Mary Sidney, daughter to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland." This last, at any rate, is a wild misstatement. It is true that Herbert did marry Mary Sidney, the famous Sir Philip's equally famous sister; but that marriage was never thought of till more than twenty years after his separation from Catharine Grey. He had meanwhile married and buried another wife, the Lady Catharine Talbot, daughter of George sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. Camden's version of the story is, that Lady Catharine Grey was divorced by legal process from Herbert soon after their marriage, but not till "after she had suffered a long slight and contempt, and was so far gone with child as to be very near her time." Nothing, however, is anywhere reported of her having ever borne a child to Herbert. It is told that she acutely felt the cruelty and indignity with which she had been treated. "This Heraclita, or Lady of Lamentation," says Fuller, "thus repudiated, was seldom seen with dry eyes for some years together, sighing out her sorrowful condition; so that, though the roses in her

cheeks looked very wan and pale, it was not for want of watering." It was a crushing load that had been laid upon her young heart;—husband, father, sister, all within the compass of a few weeks violently torn away by death, or worse than death. Perhaps of all these disseverances, the one that she felt the most, or the longest, would be that of her gentle sister. That they had dearly loved one another may be inferred from the well-known incident of Lady Jane the night before her execution, when she had finished reading in her Greek Testament for the last time, writing upon some blank leaves at the end a pious and earnest exhortation to her younger sister, and then giving the book to one of her attendants and desiring her to deliver it to Lady Herbert, when she should be no more, "as the last token of her love and remembrance." It would seem from this letter as if Lady Catharine too had been qualified to peruse the sacred text in the original; and the volume may have been one which they had often studied together in happier hours.

But years passed on, and Time, as usual, brought healing under his wing. The Lady Catharine Grey—she resumed her maiden name on ceasing to be acknowledged as the wife of Lord Herbert—can hardly have emerged from the shade so long as Queen Mary filled the throne. It was impossible that she should not be an object of some jealousy both to Mary and to Elizabeth; so that, even after the latter came to the crown, she and her mother could expect only a very scanty share of the sunshine which fell upon her Majesty's Protestant relations of the other blood, the Careys and

the Knollyses. Whatever rights had been her sister's were now hers; and, after the death of her mother in the end of the first year of Elizabeth's reign, she was the undoubted representative of Henry the Eighth's sister Mary, and, as such, not only the next heir to the crown after Elizabeth and her issue under that King's will, but, in the opinion of many persons, the individual to whom even now it rightfully belonged.

Elizabeth herself, indeed, professed to regard the rival claim of the House of Suffolk with great contempt or indifference. It can only have been to Catharine and Mary Grey that she alluded, when, in one of her conferences in the latter part of the year 1561 with Maitland of Lethington, who had come to her as ambassador from Mary Stuart, she observed that he knew as well as she did who were the competitors with his mistress for the succession to the English throne, and added, "But, alas, what power or force have these weak creatures to attempt so great an enterprise?"* In other quarters, however, the case was viewed somewhat differently. Camden asserts that Philip of Spain actually attempted in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to steal the Lady Catharine Grey out of England, with the view of setting her up against the Queen of Scots, should things go otherwise than well with Queen Elizabeth.†

* *Spotswood*, 180.—Spotswood's authority is Buchanan, who has also been translated and expanded by Hayward, in his *Annals of Elizabeth* (*Camden Society*, 1840), pp. 78—86.

† *Elizabeth*, 373. Sir Thomas Chaloner, the English ambassador in the Low Countries, writes thence to Elizabeth, on the third of August 1559, that one Hoggin had discovered a plot of the Spaniards, who, before

A very short time before the conversation took place between her Majesty and Maitland, which has just been noticed, a discovery had been made which instantly brought down upon the head of Lady Catharine all the fury of the royal indignation, and plunged her in a worse sea of troubles than she had ever yet known.

Sir Edward Seymour, the son of the Protector Somerset, had, notwithstanding the conviction upon which his father was sent to the block in January 1552, succeeded to the Dukedom and other dignities to which he had been born heir, the conviction having been not for treason, but only for the felony of conspiring the death of a privy counsellor. He was, however, immediately deprived of all his honours, and at the same time dispossessed of a great part of his estate, by a special act of parliament, which Camden asserts was clandestinely procured through the malice of his enemies. All the favour that he obtained in this reign was that of restitution in blood by an act of parliament passed in the end of the year 1553.* But a few months after Elizabeth came to the throne,—at the same time, immediately before her coronation, when she restored Queen Catharine Parr's brother to the title of Marquis of Northampton, and conferred inferior peerages upon her cousin Henry Carey, and two or three other persons,

the death of the French King, that is, Henry the Third, who died 10th July 1559, meant to have stolen the Lady Catharine, and to marry her to the Prince of Spain, (the unhappy Don Carlos). "They take her discontented, not esteemed of your Highness, nor her friends," adds Chaloner.—*Wright*, I. 7, 8.

* 2 *Private Acts*, 1 *Mar. Ses.* 2.

all known as being "averse to the Romish superstition,"*—she re-ennobled young Seymour by creating him Baron Beauchamp and Earl of Hertford, being two of the dignities which had been enjoyed by his father. He was at this time in his twenty-second year, or probably about a year older than the Lady Catharine Grey.†

Lady Catharine had, on the commencement of the new reign, been appointed to a place at court. There, too, both under Mary and Elizabeth, served Seymour's youngest sister Jane, as one of the Maids of Honour. She was three or four years younger than Lady Catharine, but was her intimate friend. They were probably first drawn to one another by community of intellectual tastes and acquirements as well as of fortune; for the Lady Jane Seymour had also been highly educated, and, young as she was, was already celebrated for her learning. Lady Catharine and she had also been alike brought up in the profession of Puritanic Protestantism, to which probably both were attached by principle as well as by habit. They soon came to be still more closely united by sentiments and relations of quite another kind.

According to Hertford's own account he had begun to entertain the desire of marrying the Lady Catharine "when his sister was brought sick from the court, in Queen Mary's time, in a horse litter, by the Mother of the Maids, to my Lady his mother's house at

* *Camden, Elizabeth*, 371.

† Sir Symonds D'Ewes states in his Autobiography that the Earl of Hertford was born on the same day with King Edward the Sixth, or on the 12th of October 1537.

Hanworth; and then he first procured his said sister to break with the said Lady Catharine touching marriage at their next meeting, which she did accordingly." * Lady Catharine is stated to have been then living under the government of the Earl's mother, the Duchess of Somerset; but it was at Hampton Court, and therefore, probably, after the accession of Elizabeth, and her appointment to a place in the royal household, that Lady Jane first moved the matter to her. She was not difficult to be won; she confessed to Lady Jane her partiality for her brother after taking the shortest possible time to ascertain the state of her heart; then the lovers talked with one another, and there remained no more for Lady Jane to do except to exercise her ingenuity in finding them opportunities of meeting as often as possible.

Their first scheme, it appears, was to endeavour to obtain her Majesty's consent to their marriage. With that view Hertford formally addressed himself to Lady Catharine's mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, who at once expressed her readiness to accept him for a son-in-law, and it was arranged that Stocks should draw up a proper letter for his wife to send in her own name to her royal cousin.† Before this could be got done, however, the Duchess died,—as has already been told, in one of the last months of the year 1559.

Then, to all outward appearance, matters stood still

* *Harl. MS.* 6286.

† *Id.*—At first, however, Hertford, according to his own account, had concealed his love for her daughter from the Duchess, though he was, he says, much bound to her, and she used commonly to call him son.

for more than a year and a half. It might naturally have been thought, indeed, by every body that, for the present at least, all was over between the two late lovers; for Hertford, apparently in the end of the year 1560 or perhaps the beginning of 1561, had left England, and was travelling about on the Continent. She, also, who had been the first link between them was no more; the Lady Jane Seymour had died on the 19th of March 1561, aged only nineteen. She was interred, with great funereal pomp, and a numerous attendance of persons belonging to the Court, in Westminster Abbey, in the same St. Edmund's Chapel in which the remains of the Duchess of Suffolk had been laid somewhat more than a year before; and there her monumental memorial too is still to be seen, erected, the inscription states, by "her dear brother."

It was about five months after the death of her friend that what had been for some time generally whispered in the Court about Lady Catharine began to be whispered so loudly, and so close to her own ear, as to compel her to break silence. The fact of her being known to be pregnant is communicated by Cecil to Archbishop Parker in a letter written on the 12th of August. She was by this time in the Tower. Her own account, when she was examined some time after, was, that, perceiving by the significant looks and manner of every body that her condition was no longer doubted, she had first betaken herself to Mistress Saintlow of the Privy Chamber, and informed her that she was married to the Earl of Hertford. Perhaps Mistress Saintlow scarcely believed her; at any rate,

she received her communication with a passion of tears, no doubt looking upon her to be as good as ruined whether she were married or no. This was on a Saturday. On the Sunday night, in her distress, Lady Catharine sought the chamber of the all-potent favourite, Dudley—the Lord Robert, as he was at this date styled—and, seated, or it may be kneeling, at his bedside, implored his intercession with her Majesty. But, if Dudley interfered, it was to no purpose. Off she was hurried to her prison the next day.

A letter addressed a few days after to Sir Edward Warner, the Lieutenant of the Tower, was evidently dictated by Elizabeth herself.* "Ye shall," says her Majesty, "by our commandment examine the Lady Catharine very straitly how many hath been privy to the love betwixt the Earl of Hertford and her from the beginning; and let her certainly understand that she shall have no manner of favour except she will shew the truth, not only what ladies or gentlewomen of this Court were thereto privy, but also what lords and gentlemen; for it doth now appear that sundry personages have dealt herein; and, when it shall appear more manifestly, it shall increase our indignation against her if she will forbear to utter it. We earnestly require you to bestow your diligence in this." Warner is then directed to send secretly to Alderman Lodge for Saintlow—she had also by this time been expelled from Court—and, when he had got hold of her, to put her in awe of divers matters confessed by the Lady Catharine,

* It is printed in *Haynes*, 369, 370, from a minute in Cecil's handwriting, and with the date 17th August 1560, by mistake for 1561.

—that is to say, to endeavour to frighten her by asserting that Lady Catharine had made such revelations—and so to deal with her that she too might confess her knowledge in the same matters. For "it is certain," adds her Majesty, "that there hath been great practices and purposes; and, since the death of the Lady Jane, she hath been most privy." *Saintlow* is no other than Elizabeth Hardwick, afterwards the famous Countess of Shrewsbury, at this time the widow of her third husband, Sir William Saint Loe. She was to be detained in the Tower for two or three nights, more or less, according, no doubt, to her communicativeness.

By this time measures had also been taken to secure the other delinquent. An order having been sent after the Earl of Hertford commanding his immediate return home, he arrived in England in the beginning of September. He was consigned to the Tower on the 5th of that month, being sent thither direct from the Court about two o'clock in the afternoon.* On the 7th he was visited by the Marquis of Winchester (Lord Treasurer) and other official persons, and examined upon certain articles, or charges formally drawn up. On the 12th the Lady Catharine was subjected to a similar ordeal. They both declared themselves married. On the 21st her ladyship was delivered of a son, which four days after was christened as Lord Hertford's,† receiving his father's and the favourite family name of Edward.‡

* *Machyn*, 266. † *Id.* 267, 268.

‡ The Protector, himself called Edward, had bestowed that name, in honour no doubt of his royal nephew, upon no fewer than three of his sons, all of whom grew up.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Parker), and certain other divines and lawyers, were now commissioned to try the case, "to examine, inquire, and judge," as it was expressed, of the "infamous" proceedings of Lady Catharine and the Earl, and their "pretended marriage." An order under the signet was sent to Warner on the 10th of February 1562, directing him to convey his two prisoners to Lambeth whenever they should be sent for by the Archbishop and his colleagues. Their examinations, however, were taken in the Tower, by the Bishop of London (Grindal), Sir William Petre, one of the Secretaries of State, and others of the commissioners, on the 14th and 16th of February; and on the 19th the investigation was finished by the examination of Hertford's brother, Lord Henry Seymour, of Adrian Stocks, and of four or five other persons understood to have been connected with the affair.*

Their first and their later statements varied in some particulars, but both Lady Catharine and the Earl persisted throughout in maintaining that a marriage had taken place betwixt them. It might have been difficult to say what was or was not a good and sufficient marriage in England as the law then stood; but probably, if the story they told had been believed, it would have been admitted that they were legally man and wife. The marriage, they asserted, had been performed one day in the latter end of the year 1560—between Allhallow-tide and Christmas—when, the Queen having gone to hunt at Eltham, Lady Catharine and Lady Jane, who had been left behind in the palace at White-

* There is a copy of the examinations in the *Harl. MS.* 6286.

hall, seized their opportunity, and, making their way on foot along by the river side, presented themselves at the Earl's house in Canon Row. "It was quickly arranged that Lady Jane should go for a clergyman," whom we are to suppose she had in readiness, and whom accordingly she brought in a few minutes. He was, they said, a person of a fair complexion, with an auburn beard, and of a mean stature (that is, a medium height); he had no surplice, but was attired in a long gown of black cloth, faced with budge, with the collar turned down "after the sort as the ministers were wont to go at their first coming into the realm;" —in other words, he was one of the Puritan divines who had lately returned from Germany. Their confessed employment of such a functionary would not tend to conciliate Archbishop Parker. Nor was he now forthcoming; and the only other witness of the ceremony had been young Jane Seymour, now in her grave.

If all this was true, the business had been somewhat simply gone about; but not more so, perhaps, than it was natural that it should have been, considering the circumstances, and the youth of all the parties concerned, especially of the one by whom all the arrangements appear to have been made. Poor Lady Jane, with all her Latin and Greek, and her Puritanic theology to boot, had no doubt crude enough notions on some subjects; and on that of marriage in particular, she probably thought, with most young ladies, that, if only the ceremony could be got performed, every thing else might be left to take care of itself. The act in the

present case, besides, was one of which it might emphatically be said, that, "if 'twere done, 'twere well it were done quickly;" it had to be proceeded with suddenly and by stealth, not perhaps without dread and danger of interruption, consequently both with imperfect preparation and the neglect of some things which might have been attended to if everybody had been less in a hurry. All this may account for no precautions having been taken to insure the proof and establishment of the marriage if it should be called in question, as it was pretty certain to be,—for the neglect of making any record of it, for the absence of witnesses, for the ignorance in which the bride and bridegroom were left in regard to the name and residence of the clergyman, and indeed as to whether he was a clergyman at all. Some minute facts, which the examination of the Earl and Lady Catharine brought out, create a strong impression that the story they told was true. Even if they may be suspected to have had opportunities of consulting together, such particulars were not likely to have been thought of by them in concerting what they were to say; yet they agreed not only in the description of the clergyman, but in all the other circumstances which they could be supposed to recollect, especially the positions of the four persons present at the ceremony, which was performed, it seems, in the Earl's bedchamber. Lady Catharine also exhibited a ring, which she declared had been used upon the occasion; it was all of gold, and consisted of five links, on four of which were engraved as many verses of the Earl's composition, expressing the assurance of his last-

ing faith and love;* and it could, apparently, have been prepared for no other purpose than that of serving as their marriage ring.

The judgment of the commissioners, nevertheless, was, that there had been no marriage. It was pronounced in the Bishop of London's Palace, near St. Paul's, on the 12th of May 1562. By the public voice this decision was attributed mainly to the influence of Archbishop Parker; and the part his Grace had taken was by no means universally approved of. "No question," says even his eulogistic biographer, Strype, "the Archbishop underwent censures for his proceedings." There can be as little question, however, that the sentence was satisfactory to Queen Elizabeth; for her Majesty, however she might desire that Lady Catharine should, as Fuller puts it, "follow the pattern she set her of constant virginity," had already very plainly indicated that she would prefer anything to her marriage.

It appears not to have been till some time after this that any farther proceedings were taken. The two culprits were only ordered to be kept locked up in the Tower, and to be sharply looked after. But, when Lady Catharine produced a second son, Elizabeth became furious. It was another boy; he was born on the 10th of February 1563, and was baptized Thomas, the godfathers being two of the warders of the Tower.† A process was now raised against the Earl in the Star-Chamber, which issued in his being fined five thousand pounds for each of three separate alleged offences, one being his visiting Lady Catharine after they were both

* See the verses in *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 290. † *Machyn*, 300.

lodged in the Tower, which was construed as being a breaking of his prison. These heavy penalties appear to have been exacted. We read at least of process being out for levying them.* He was farther condemned to remain in prison during the Queen's pleasure.

The Earl and Lady Catharine, however, were both removed from the Tower, not many months after the birth of their second son. Lady Catharine was sent to her father's brother Lord John Grey, at his seat of Pirgo in Essex, with a letter from the Lords of the Council, informing him that she was committed to his custody by the Queen's order, in consequence of the Tower being "environed with infection of the plague;" in the same manner, it was added, "as, upon much humble suit, her Majesty hath granted the like to the Earl of Hertford; and meaning not that she should be at any other liberty, but to be free from that place of danger." The plague of this year 1563 broke out in London about the beginning of July. Her Ladyship was to remain with Grey and his wife as in custody, and to have no conference with any person not of their household without their knowledge. "Which," the letter goes on, "her Majesty meaneth she should understand of your Lordship, and observe, as some part of her punishment; and therein her Majesty meaneth herein to try her disposition, how she will obey that which she shall have in commandment." "And surely of our own parts," their Lordships subjoin, "for that we wish she should not long lack her

* *Haynes*, 417.—*Wright*, I. 129.

Majesty's favour, but recover it by all good means, we heartily pray your Lordship to have regard that she use herself there in your house with no other demeanour than as though she were in the Tower, until she may attain more favour of her Majesty." * It was of course specially intended that she should not be permitted to see the Earl. He had been at the same time committed, no doubt with similar restrictions, to the custody of his mother, the Duchess of Somerset.

A curious letter from Warner, the Lieutenant of the Tower, to Cecil, is preserved in the British Museum, written soon after he had lost his two prisoners. It is dated from his house at Plumstead, near Northwich, the 8th of September; and its purpose is to ask Cecil to get the writer an order from the Lord Chamberlain by which he may be entitled to take possession for his own benefit of the furniture of Lady Catharine's apartments. We in this way learn something of how the unfortunate lady was lodged, and also, incidentally, of how she occasionally amused her solitude. "Sir," writes the Lieutenant to his friend the Secretary, "my Lady Catharine is, as ye know, delivered; and the stuff that she had, I wish it were seen: it was delivered by the Queen's commandment, and she hath worn it now two years full,—most of it so torn and tattered with her monks [monkeys] and dogs, as will serve to small purpose. Besides that, she had one other chamber furnished with stuff of mine, the which is almost all marred also." The stuff, or furniture, is altogether, he says, in such a state, that, if he may not have it, it is

* *Haynes*, 405.

fitter to be given away to some one else than to be restored to the royal wardrobe: that he declares under his hand. The only article which he seems to apprehend the Lord Chamberlain may be disinclined to let him have is the down bed on which his prisoner had slept; if so, he will be happy to accept of the rest without that. "And thus," he concludes his solicitation to Cecil, "I wish you prosperous felicity, with increase of godliness;" * increase of goods being, however, evidently what he is more intent upon for himself.

Lady Catharine had been transferred from the Tower in August. Lord John Grey writes to his "good cousin Cecil" from Pirgo on the 29th of that month, thanking him in fervent terms for his great friendship shown in procuring her delivery, an act, his lordship says, for which he and all his have cause to think themselves bounden and beholden to the Secretary, and to hold themselves so during their lives. But, although he may lament the cause of her imprisonment, Lord John declares that he cannot regret that she has been

* *Lansd. MS.* 7, *Art.* 33. . See in *Wright*, I. 140, 141, along with Warner's letter, a list, extracted from *Lansd. MS.* 5, *Art.* 41, of the articles of furniture with which Lady Catharine's bedchamber in the Tower had been supplied from the Wardrobe there in August 1561, with the Lieutenant's marginal annotations. The tapestry hangings for the chamber he describes as "of diverse sorts and very old and coarse;" the *sparrer* for the bed, as "all to-broken, not worth ten-pence;" a red silk quilt striped with gold, as "stark naught;" two Turkey carpets, as having "the wool all worn away;" a chair of cloth of gold, cased with crimson velvet, as "nothing worth;" a cushion of purple velvet, as "an old cast thing;" two footstools covered with green velvet, as "old stools for King Henry's feet;" and a bed for her Ladyship's women, as "a mean bed." Lady Catharine's own bed is set down, without any depreciatory comment, as a "bed and bolster of down, with two pillows of down."

imprisoned, seeing that by that alone she has been brought to see herself as she is, and to know both God and her duty to the Queen. "Assure yourself," he says, "Cousin Cecil, she is a penitent and a sorrowful woman for the Queen's displeasure, and most humbly and heartily desires you to finish that your friendship begun, for the obtaining of the Queen's favour in the full remission of her fault."* On the 3rd of September Lady Catharine herself writes to Cecil in a similar strain of gratitude. But, while she most humbly craves pardon, "with outstretched hands and downbent knees," from the bottom of her heart, the only offence she acknowledges is the having married without her Majesty's consent. She expresses her hope of being soon permitted, through Cecil's friendly interposition, to enjoy the company of her "own dear lord and husband;" and, not, perhaps, without an allusion to a possibility which might not be more distinctly indicated, she beseeches her good cousin, that, as he cannot, she is sure, doubt of her dear lord's goodwill to requite his kindness, so he will make the like account of herself during life to the uttermost of her power. She expresses also her reliance upon the help of the Lord Robert, that is, Dudley; and she subscribes herself, as of course she now always did, KATHARINE HARTFORD.†

Another letter from her uncle to Cecil, dated the 20th of the same month, was probably written with the view of its being shown to the Queen. Lord John draws an impassioned picture of his niece's sufferings.

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 276. † *Id.* 278.

"The thought and care she taketh," he says, "for the want of her Highness' favour pines her away. Before God I speak it, if it comes not the sooner, she will not long live thus. She eateth not above six morsels in the meal. If I say unto her 'Good madam, eat somewhat to comfort yourself,' she falls a weeping, and goeth up to her chamber; if I ask her what the cause is she useth herself in that sort, she answers me, 'Alas, uncle, what a life is this to me, thus to live in the Queen's displeasure! But for my lord and my children, I would to God I were buried.'"* On the 7th of November Lord John writes again to the Secretary, inclosing a short petition from his niece to the Queen, in which she craves pardon for her disobedience and rash matching of herself without her Highness's consent, and implores an extension of the favour and mercy she has already received. "My just felt misery and continual grief," she writes, "doth teach me daily, more and more, the greatness of my fault, and your princely pity increaseth my sorrow, that have so forgotten my duty towards your Majesty." † But still no relief came. On the 12th of December Lord John writes again to Cecil, representing the miserable and woful state in which his niece still continued. For the last three or four days she had not left her chamber, nor for the most part of the time her bed, so that he thought he should have been obliged to send for some of the Queen's physicians to come to her; he had never gone to her but he either found her in tears or perceived by her face that she had been weeping. He

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 279. † *Id.* 282.

therefore earnestly implores his good cousin Cecil, "for the mutual love which ought to be betwixt Christian men, and for the love wherewith God hath loved us being his," to procure, by some way or means, her Majesty's further favour towards her. She had never gone to bed, he states, all this time of her sickness, but they that watched her much doubted how they would find her in the morning; so that, if she had not careful women about her, he declares he could not sleep in quiet.* This letter was probably accompanied by a short note from Lady Catharine herself, dated on the following day, in which she pathetically describes both her mental and bodily sufferings. "What the long want of the Queen's majesty's accustomed favour towards me hath bred in this miserable and wretched body of mine," she says, "God only knoweth, as I daily more and more, to the torment and wasting thereof, do otherwise feel than [I am] well able to express; which if it should any long time thus continue, I rather wish of God shortly to be buried in the faith and fear of him than in this continual agony to live." As she had written to the Lord Robert, so now she writes to Cecil, desiring his friendship for his poor cousin and his assured friend to the extent of her small power.† After this, an interval of about three months appears to have passed without any further application. Then, on the 6th of March 1564, we have Lord John addressing himself to the minister once more. "It is a great while, me thinketh, Cousin Cecil," he begins, "since I sent unto you in my niece's behalf, albeit I know (opportunity so serving) you are

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 283. † *Id.* 285.

not unmindful of her miserable and comfortless estate." The present time (he means the season of Lent) of all others had been wont to be accounted a time of mercy and forgiveness; would he were only the Queen's confessor, or else were able to step into the pulpit, "to tell her Highness that God will not forgive her unless she freely forgive all the world." * Lord John, who had been involved in the same treason with his two brothers, the Duke of Suffolk and Lord Thomas Grey, but had been pardoned when they lost their heads, had not, we see, learned either timidity or flattery from his narrow escape and his experience of the royal clemency.

It is pretty evident, from all that has been stated, that nobody had expected Elizabeth to hold out so long as she had by this time done. She had no doubt at first been very angry, and the judgment which had been pronounced against the marriage had considerably embarrassed the present case; but her Majesty's resentment might probably have evaporated in course of time, and a way have been found out of setting everything to rights, if it had not been for certain proceedings of the Earl of Hertford, or his friends, of a singularly imprudent character. The Earl might, perhaps, have been forgiven for seeking to have the question of his marriage re-tried before another tribunal, even although he had urged his appeal from the sentence of the Archbishop and the other commissioners in opposition to the royal wish or command; but his principal agent or adviser in that attempt had thought fit to go at the same time into certain other questions, or speculations, which it

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 273.

was very unnecessary to bring forward in existing circumstances. "Here is fallen out a troublesome fond matter," Cecil writes to Sir Thomas Smith, on the 27th of April 1564. "John Hales had secretly made a book in the time of the last Parliament, wherein he hath taken upon him to discuss no small matter; namely, the title to the crown after the Queen's majesty,—having confuted and rejected the line of the Scottish Queen, and made the line of the Lady Frances, mother to the Lady Catharine, only next and lawful. He is committed to the Fleet for this boldness, specially because he hath communicated it to sundry persons. My Lord John Grey is in trouble also for it. Beside this, John Hales hath procured sentences and councils of lawyers from beyond seas to be written in maintenance of the Earl of Hertford's marriage. This dealing of his offendeth the Queen's majesty very much." *

This business made a great stir and noise. It got the name of *tempestas Halesiana* (the Halesian tempest). Hales was a lawyer, and a zealous Protestant, or Puritan, who had held the office of Clerk of the Hanaper under King Henry and King Edward, but had gone into exile in the time of Queen Mary, and apparently had not since recovered his old connexion with the Court, which possibly was not yet sufficiently reformed for his present notions or tastes. He may have thought that Lady Catharine would make a more protestant queen than Elizabeth. He greatly preferred her, at any rate, to Mary Stuart. When he was

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 285.

taken up and examined, however, he protested that he had no notion of altering the succession, but professed to be thankful to God that the imputation or suspicion to which his book had given rise had lighted upon so poor a woman as the Lady Catharine,—one, as he said, who had no friend, that he knew of, able to do any hurt to the Queen's majesty or to the State, nor any so foolish as that, even if they had the power, they would attempt any such thing.* It was Mr. Francis Newdigate, he said, who had first moved him to meddle in the case of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine. Newdigate had married the Dowager Duchess of Somerset, Hertford's mother. Hales, who was sent first to the Fleet, and afterwards to the Tower, appears to have been long detained a prisoner; and not only both Newdigate and Lord John Grey were subjected to examination, but some of the highest persons in the government were suspected, or apprehensive of being so. Cecil himself, writing again to Smith on the 9th of May, speaks of not being altogether free from some fear of being involved, because some of the persons who had been committed had had access to him in their suits.† The Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was actually for some time in a sort of disgrace. All that was proved, or, for anything that appears, alleged, against him was, that, when application was made to him by the Earl of Hertford's friends to forward the Earl's appeal against the judgment on his marriage, he had said that, if they proceeded in the way of petition, he was willing to render what

* *Haynes*, 413. † *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 285; *Wright*, I. 180.

help he might; but, if the claim was urged as of right, he would be against them.* Yet for this he was commanded to absent himself from Court, and to refrain from intermeddling with anything but his proper business of the Chancery;—whereby, as Cecil observes in a letter written at the time, the affairs of the State took great harm, and the Lord Keeper himself was not without danger of suffering from depression of mind.†

Anxiety arising from this affair was, in fact, believed to have killed, or helped to kill, Lord John Grey. His lordship died, at his house at Pirgo, on the 21st of November. Cecil, in a letter written a few days after, states that his friends attributed his death to "thought," but expresses himself as of opinion that "his gout was sufficient to have ended his life."‡ Upon this Lady Catharine was removed to the custody of Mr. Petre, who was one of Cecil's colleagues in the Secretaryship of State.

But this was only a temporary arrangement. It appears that both she and Hertford were soon recommitted to close confinement in their old prison of the Tower. There, however, their former jailor, Sir Edward Warner, turned off for having kept so negligent a watch over them—and he seems, in truth, to have had scarcely so sharp an eye for the conduct of his prisoners while under his charge, as for what they might leave behind them in the shape of down beds and half-worn hangings—had given place to a new

* *Haynes*, 417. † *Strype, Ann. Ref.*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 121.
‡ *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 286.

Lieutenant, Sir Owen Hopton, who it was doubtless believed might be safely relied upon for keeping them far enough asunder.

The next notices we have of the Earl and Lady Catharine are in two letters addressed to Cecil by the Duchess of Somerset in the early part of the year 1566. In the first, endorsed by Cecil as having been received in January, the Duchess states that, after having long remained silent, she had presumed to renew her suit in behalf of her son to the Queen's majesty, and had also written to the Earl of Leicester. She will not herself attempt "to reason how much her Highness' displeasure is too long lasting, or how unmeet it is this young couple should thus wax old in prison, or how far better it were for them to be abroad and learn to serve;" these and such like considerations she will leave to the friendly setting forth of Leicester and Cecil. She will only remind them that there is no other cause but this belonging to her Majesty's reign but hath had some favourable order or end; let this young couple also, then, have their share of her Majesty's plentiful mercy; "to the procurement whereof," subjoins her Grace with much spirit, "the more earnest my Lord and you shall shew yourselves, the more shall you set forth the Queen's majesty's honour, and, as a mother I must needs say, the better discharge your callings and credit."* In her second letter, written about Easter, the Duchess expresses her hope and trust "that the occasion of this Holy Week, and charitable time of forgiveness," being earnestly set forth by her two friends, "will bring forth

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 287.

some comfortable fruit of relief to the long afflicted parties;"—"wherein," she adds, "my Lord and you cannot go so far but God's cause and the Queen's honour bid you go farther."

But Elizabeth remained inexorable and immovable. All the mercy that Lady Catharine's fast declining health obtained for her appears to have been the indulgence of being sometimes carried by Sir Owen Hopton to his country-house of Cockfield Hall, in Yoxford, Suffolk. The tradition of her occasional residence there long survived at Yoxford, and it appears to have been there that she died. In the Parish Register is still to be seen an entry of her burial on the 21st of February 1567,* that is, I presume, 1568 according to our present reckoning. She had therefore been a prisoner for between six and seven years.

An affecting account of her last hours, or, as it is entitled, "the manner of her departing," is preserved in one of the Harleian Manuscripts, and has been printed by Sir Henry Ellis. All the night before she died, it is stated, she spent in devotion, repeating psalms or hearing them by others, as soon as one was finished calling for another. She rehearsed several times the prayers for the Visitation of the Sick and also those appointed for the hour of death; and when those about her would have comforted her with the hope of getting well and living for many more years, she would answer, "No, no; no more life for me in this world; but in the world to come I hope to live for ever. Here is nothing but care and misery, and there is life everlasting."

* *Gent. Mag.* XCIII. 11.

Among others who were with her, Lady Hopton is mentioned. About six or seven o'clock in the morning she desired that Sir Owen might be called. Though strict in the execution of his charge, Sir Owen had probably never treated her otherwise than kindly. To his anxious inquiry, how she was, she replied that she was even going to God as fast as she could; and she desired him and the rest to bear witness for her that she died a true Christian, and in peace with all the world. Then she said to Sir Owen, "I beseech you, promise me one thing, that you yourself with your own mouth will make this request unto the Queen's majesty, which shall be the last suit and request that ever I shall make unto her Highness, even from the mouth of a dead woman; that she would forgive her displeasure towards me, as my hope is she hath done. I needs must confess I have greatly offended her in that I made my choice without her knowledge, otherwise I take God to witness I had never the heart to think any evil against her Majesty. And that she would be good unto my children, and not to impute my fault unto them, whom I give wholly unto her Majesty; for in my life they have had few friends, and fewer shall they have when I am dead, except her Majesty be gracious unto them. And I desire her Highness to be good unto my Lord, [and], for I know this my death will be heavy news unto him, that her Grace will be so good as to send liberty to glad his sorrowful heart withal." She had also, she further told him, certain tokens and commendations with which she wished to entrust him for her husband; and, calling to her woman to bring her the

box in which her wedding-ring was, she first took from it a ring with a pointed diamond in it, and said, "Here, Sir Owen, deliver this unto my Lord; this is the ring that I received of him when I gave myself unto him and gave him my faith." "What say you, Madam," said Sir Owen; "was this your wedding-ring?" "No, Sir Owen," she replied; "this was the ring of my assurance unto my Lord, and there is my wedding-ring," taking another ring, all of gold, out of the box. It was the same ring, consisting of five links, and having engraved upon it the verses of the Earl's composition, which she had exhibited to the Commission of Inquiry. "Deliver this also," she said to Sir Owen, "unto my Lord, and pray him, even as I have been to him, as I take God to witness I have been, a true and a faithful wife, that he would be a loving and a natural father unto my children; unto whom I give the same blessing that God gave unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Then taking out a third ring, she handed that too to Sir Owen, saying, "This shall be the last token unto my Lord that ever I shall send him; it is the picture of myself." It bore a Death's head, surrounded with the words, *While I live, yours.* Nature was now exhausted, but all that she had desired to do was done. Looking down upon her hands, and seeing that the nails were become purple, she said quietly, "So, here he is come;" and then, as it were with a joyful countenance, exclaimed, "Welcome, Death!" and folding her arms across, and beating her breast with her hands, besought in a few earnest words the mercy of a pitying God. Sir Owen, now perceiving that she drew towards

her end, suggested to one of the persons present whether it might not be best to send to the church to have the bell rung, meaning the passing bell, by which it was then customary to invite the prayers of those upon whose ears the sounds should fall for the spirit in the act of departure. Lady Catharine, hearing him, said, "Good Sir Owen, let it be so." Then immediately she uttered her last words, commending her soul to her Maker; "and so," concludes the account, "putting down her eyes with her own hands, she yielded unto God her meek spirit, at nine of the clock in the morning, the 27th of January 1667."*

Thus died, without one of her blood near her, cast out, as it were, and abandoned to strangers and servants, the great-grand-daughter of Henry the Seventh, within sixty years from the time when that great King wore the crown. Old men might still remember when her mother's mother was first the betrothed of the future Emperor of Germany and then the Queen of France; and it was but as it were yesterday that her elder sister, whose heir and representative she was, had been proclaimed Queen of England. She had not lived thirty years, and for half of that space her existence had been little else than a succession of miseries. From the time when she was a girl of fourteen the few months of her stolen and perilous intimacy with Hertford—extending at most over little more than the two years 1559 and 1560—were the only interval of anything like happiness that she had known. It were hard to say whether the seven years that preceded that gleam o

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 290.

troubled and treacherous sunshine, or the seven that followed it, had been the darker. The slaughter of a sister and a father, the ruin of her family, and all her own peculiar wrongs at that period, floods of tears as we are told they wrung from her eyes, probably did not crush the life of her heart so much as did the hard usage she afterwards experienced. That would bring most of the wearing-out sickness of hope deferred. All that is known of her, too, would lead us to believe that she was of a gentle and affectionate nature, and ill constituted for being so roughly tried,—except, indeed, that the meek, considerate, and patient spirit, which we have seen manifesting itself so touchingly in the closing scene of her life, would also beautify and bless the whole course of it. This is the way, often, in which Heaven "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb." With so kind a heart she could not but win the attachment of every living thing that came near her. It used to be one of the traditions about her among the people of Yoxford, that after her death a little dog which she had would taste no food, but went and lay down and died upon her grave.*

The whole story of her connexion with Hertford, read it how we may, betokens a loving, confiding, unexacting woman. Was he to whom she gave herself with so noble a generosity worthy of her? His leaving her, as he did, immediately after she became his, and remaining abroad in the circumstances in which she was placed, can hardly be considered creditable to him, even if we suppose, what may probably have been the

* *Gent. Mag.*, XCIII. 11.

case, that his keeping out of the way of the Queen's resentment was a thing concerted between them. One is glad that the unheroic project proved a failure; on the whole, it is rather a consolation that he should have been caught and imprisoned, however unjustly, as well as the poor partner of his indiscretion, and smartly fined to boot. I should doubt what is sometimes stated, that he was kept in durance for nine years; Fuller, in his loose, rhetorical fashion, extends Lady Catharine's imprisonment also to that term; it is more probable that the Earl was set at liberty soon after her death. Long before the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign he had recovered his favour with her Majesty. We shall meet with him again presently in another narrative. Dugdale makes him to have had four children by Lady Catharine Grey; Edward and Thomas, already mentioned as having been born in the Tower in September 1561 and February 1563; another Edward; and a daughter, Catharine, who is stated to have died young. Thomas married, but died, leaving no issue, in August 1600; and of the second Edward, if he ever existed, we hear nothing more. The first Edward, styled Lord Beauchamp, however, continued the line of the family.

It now only remains to notice briefly the fortunes of the youngest of the three daughters of Frances Brandon, the Lady Mary Grey. She can have been only, at most, a child of thirteen or fourteen when her two elder sisters were married, in May 1553, to the Lord Guildford Dudley and Lord Herbert. Stowe and, after him,

Burnet and other writers absurdly state that she was married at the same time to the King's groom-porter.* That marriage did not take place till many years afterwards. "Here is an unhappy chance and monstrous," Cecil writes to Sir Thomas Smith, from Windsor, on the 21st of August 1565; "the Serjeant Porter, being the biggest gentleman in this court, hath married secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the court. They are committed to several prisons. The offence is very great." † Camden too, therefore, is mistaken in asserting that the Duchess of Suffolk lived to see her youngest daughter throw herself away by this unequal match; the Duchess died nearly six years before. Other accounts make the Lady Mary to have been deformed, or crooked, as well as of remarkably diminutive size. The husband she chose for herself, whose stature was so much more eminent than his station, was named Martin Keyes. His office, however, was not exactly a menial one, if we may rely upon Fuller's account of him, who, while he calls him "a judge at court, but only of doubtful cast of dice," designates him Martin Keyes, of Kent, Esquire. He says that the Lady Mary, "frighted with the infelicity of her two sisters, forgot her honour to remember her safety, and married one whom she could love and none need fear." ‡ After she and her husband had been kept for

* Parsons, in his *Conference about the Succession* (Part II. p. 131), says that she was betrothed first to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, and that after being left by him she was married to the gentleman porter of the Queen's household.

† *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 299. ‡ *Worthies*, II. 227.

some time in close confinement, it appears that she was committed to the custody first of a Mr. Hawtrey of Checkers, then of the Duchess of Somerset at Hanworth. Two short letters which she addressed to Cecil from Checkers in the beginning of the year 1567 are given by Sir Henry Ellis. She had, however, forwarded several previous applications for her release. In the first of her two printed letters, which is dated the 24th of January, she says: "Good Master Secretary, I must crave pardon at your hands for troubling you so often with my rude letters; but I trust you conceive what a grief the Queen's majesty's displeasure is to me, which makes me to wish death rather than to be in this great misery without her Majesty's favour; and therefore I am forced to crave your help and goodness to be a continual mean for me to her Majesty to get me her Majesty's favour again; trusting, if I might once obtain it, never to forego it, while I live, so negligently as I have done, God giving me his grace; which I trust He will with my continual prayer for it." * She meant, then, to pray continually that she might never be induced to make another low marriage. In the other letter, written on the 7th of February, she goes still farther, declaring, if we take the obvious meaning of her expressions, that she repents of what she has already done. "Good Master Secretary," she says, "I have received your message you sent me by Master Hawtrey, wherein I do perceive you are in doubt whether I do continue in my folly still or no; which I assure you I do as much repent as ever did any, not

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 309.

only for that I have thereby given occasion to my enemies to rejoice at my fond part, but also for that I have thereby incurred the Queen's majesty's displeasure, which is the greatest grief to me; for that the prince's favour is not so soon gotten again, and I assure you to be without it is such grief to any true subject's heart as no torment can be greater, as I, most woeful wretch, have too well tried; desiring rather death than to be any longer without so great a jewel as her Majesty's favour should be to me."* All that is further recorded of little crooked Lady Mary is that she survived her gigantic husband, by whom she had no family, and that she was still alive in 1578, when she made her Will, in which she describes herself as "of the Parish of St. Botolf without Aldersgate, widow, of whole mind and of good and perfect remembrance," and in which, after bequeathing her body to be buried where the Queen's majesty shall think most fit and convenient, she leaves legacies of jewels to various persons,—among others, to her "very good lady and grandmother, the Duchess of Suffolk, her Grace," (that is, Charles Brandon's second wife, now re-married to Mr. Richard Bertie,) a pair of bracelets of gold, with a *jank* stone in each bracelet, which had been her mother's.† She probably died soon after this.

It thus appears that the person who would have been the legal heir to the throne on the death of Elizabeth if the Will of Henry the Eighth had been held good, and

* *Ellis, Second Series*, II. 310.

† See it in *Strype, Ann. Ref.*, Vol. II., Part II., pp. 210, 211.

if his own legitimacy had been undisputed, was Edward Seymour, styled Lord Beauchamp, the eldest son of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Jane Grey. He was then the only existing descendant of Frances the elder of the two daughters of Mary Tudor. But, if he was to be set aside on the ground of illegitimacy, there were still other claimants under the Will, the descendants, namely, of Mary Tudor's youngest daughter Eleanor. The Lady Eleanor Brandon had married in 1537 Henry Clifford second Earl of Cumberland, and died ten years after, leaving only a daughter, the Lady Margaret Clifford, who became the wife of Henry Stanley fourth Earl of Derby. Her son Ferdinand fifth Earl of Derby, who died in 1594, left three daughters; and the eldest of these, Anne, was the representative of the Lady Eleanor Brandon at the death of Queen Elizabeth. She was twice married; first, to Grey Brydges fifth Baron Chandos; secondly, to Mervin Touchet fourteenth Baron Audley and (in the Irish peerage) second Earl of Castlehaven, in whose miserable story, which may be read in the *State Trials*, she makes a principal figure. It is strange to think that the most unhappy and degraded woman in the kingdom should have been the person having, according to one theory, the legal right to the crown. She was still alive when Audley was tried and executed in 1631; and, as she was not quite fourteen at the death of her father in 1594,* she may have survived to a much later date. She appears to have had no children by her second husband, but she had two sons and two daughters by

* *Collins*, III. 65.

her first, all of whom grew up and were married. Her representative, if in existence, is now the representative of the Lady Eleanor Brandon. But, if the descendants of the Lady Anne Stanley be extinct, her rights, whatever they may have been, have been inherited by the line of her next sister Frances, who married John Egerton first Earl of Bridgewater, and whose representative, through his grandmother, the Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of Scrope first Duke of Bridgewater, is now his Grace the Duke of Sutherland.

MARGARET TUDOR, THE SCOTTISH QUEEN.

The elder of the two daughters of King Henry the Seventh is much more of an historical personage than her sister. For a considerable portion of her life she played a distinguished political part, and her movements and fortunes swell the main stream of the national annals. The less, therefore, remains to be told of her in these pages, the principal purpose of which is to supply what history commonly so called has left unnoticed, though not only curious and interesting in itself, but often illustrating affairs of state, as well as social life, and sometimes indispensable for the full and correct elucidation of the course of public events.

Margaret was the second child of Henry and Elizabeth of York; but an interval of more than three years elapsed between the birth of her elder brother Arthur and hers, which took place on the 29th of November 1489. She had not therefore completed her fourteenth year, when she was sent off to Scotland in August 1503, and there married to King James the Fourth, who was in his thirty-first. This alliance had, according to Lord Bacon, been originally proposed by the Scottish King to Fox Bishop of Durham in September 1499; other accounts make the first overtures to have come from the

father of the lady. Henry, at any rate, readily went into the project; and the manner in which he is reported to have looked at it ought to redeem his political sagacity from the imputation of having been mere king-craft, or a sharpsightedness only for petty or immediate advantages. Bacon relates that, while the marriage was in treaty, the matter was remitted by his Majesty to the Council; when "some of the table, in the freedom of counsellors, the King being present, did put the case, that, if God should take the King's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the King himself replied, that, if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland; for that the greater would draw the less, and that it was a safer union for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question."* Before Margaret's marriage was actually solemnized, the death of Henry's eldest son Arthur, which happened in April 1502, had greatly enhanced its importance in the view which the clear-headed King took of it. Only the life of Prince Henry now stood between the Queen of Scotland and the English throne.

The nuptials were celebrated at Edinburgh with much barbaric splendour, or at least what we should now deem such, although the intermixture of barbarism was, after all, not greater, if the splendour was somewhat less, than on occasion of the marriage of Margaret's sister with Louis of France, some twelve years later, at the

* *Reign of Henry VII.*

most brilliant and polished court in Europe. The jousts and tournaments were no more bloodless than were the gladiatorial exhibitions of old Rome; and it was suspected that James little regretted some fatal casualties which in one of these encounters, in which he himself took part, rid the land of sundry of his fierce Highland and Border subjects, who might otherwise have given the law some trouble. But there were also entertainments of a more civilized and intellectual description; the pageants and festivities were enlivened by the interposition of dramatic representations; and if these moralities, as they were called, were themselves imported from the neighbouring kingdom, as well as were in all probability John *Inglish* and his companions, by whom they were acted, an allegory in another style, by which the best of them were far outshone, *The Thistle and the Rose*, composed on the occasion by Dunbar, the Chaucer of the North, amply sustained the honour of the Scottish muse. James himself was not of a literary turn; his accomplishments all partook of a corporeal character; but he had some skill in music, and at his first meeting with his young bride at Newbattle, within a few miles of Edinburgh, he treated her to a specimen of his performance on the lute and the claricord. What he most excelled in, however, was horsemanship; and he took his departure after this first interview in what was designed to be a very imposing fashion, by vaulting into his saddle without putting his foot in the stirrup. Another piece of gallantry which he practised at this visit was his rushing into Margaret's presence with such eagerness and impetuosity as to have forgotten, or

not to have taken time, to clip his beard. When the monarch the next day brought his Queen into his capital from Dalkeith seated behind him on horseback, his attire was a display of all the colours of the rainbow, —a blaze of cloth of gold, purple velvet, violet satin, and scarlet, trimmed with black fur, and studded with pearls and precious stones.

But all the glitter and gaiety of her reception,—to grace which many distinguished foreigners had been invited to Edinburgh to join the assembled rank and beauty of Scotland,—failed to tranquillize some natural apprehensions in the breast of the English princess, thus exiled at so tender an age to a country of which she cannot have been accustomed to hear the most prepossessing accounts. It was a much more sombre and depressing prospect than that with which her sister Mary some years later quitted her native land to be the Queen of France. Paris was already one of the centres of European civilisation and refinement; Edinburgh, instead of being any such bright abode of luxury and the arts, radiating light to all other capitals, stood on the very outermost orbit of the system over which that illumination extended. How Margaret felt immediately after her arrival in Scotland may be gathered from what appears to have been her first letter to her father. After humbly commending herself to his majesty, and beseeching his daily blessing for herself, and that he would heartily thank all his servants who had accompanied her on her journey, she requests him to give credence to the good lady who is the bearer of her letter; "for," says she, "I have showed her more of my mind than I

will write at this time." Her most delicate complaints or apprehensions then, were committed to the charge of this confidential attendant,—one, it would seem, who was to her much what mother Guildford afterwards was to her sister Mary. From the little, however, that she ventures to say about her husband, it is plain that she was not quite pleased with his behaviour. Possibly such a child as he had got for a wife did not as yet greatly interest James; at all events she seems to think that she had already found a rival in the Earl of Surrey, the nobleman by whom she had been conducted to her new country, and whose soldierly accomplishments would doubtless have a strong attraction for the chivalrous Scottish King. "Sir," she proceeds, "as for news, I have none to send, but that my Lord of Surrey is in great favour with the King here, that he cannot forbear the company of him no time of the day." Surrey, she affirms, and the Bishop of Moray,—that is, the famous Andrew Forman, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrew's,—arranged everything as far as it was possible in such a manner as to please the King. "I pray God," she adds, "it may be for my poor heart's ease in time to come. They call not my Chamberlain to them, which I am sure will speak better for my part than any of them that been of that council. And, if he speak anything for my cause, my Lord of Surrey hath such words unto him that he dare speak no further. God send me comfort to his pleasure, and that I and mine, that be left here with me, be well entreated, such ways as they have taken." All this is dictated; a few additional lines are written with her own hand. The epistle

appears to have been put together in some haste. "For God's sake, sir," it concludes, "hold me excused that I write not myself to your Grace, for I have no leisure (?) this time; but with a wish I would I were with your Grace now, and many times more, when (?) I would answer. As for this that I have written to your grace, it is very true; but I pray God I may find it well for my welfare hereafter." *

Queen Margaret, however, gradually became used to her situation, and attached to her husband. We hear little or nothing about her for a space of about ten years from this time, except that she produced her first child, a boy, in February 1507, and that he was followed by four others, two, if not three, of whom were also sons. But of the five, the only one who grew up, or indeed who lived beyond a few months, was the fourth, James, who was born on the 15th of April 1512.

Meanwhile Margaret's father had been succeeded on the English throne by her brother. The perpetual peace and amity between the two kingdoms, which had been counted upon as the result of her marriage, lasted to the end of the reign of Henry the Seventh, and for some time after the commencement of that of his son; but by the spring of 1513 an irritation, which had subsisted for the

* *Ellis, First Series*, I. 42.—Queen Margaret was, in after life at least, very fond of using her pen; but her spelling at this time looks as if it had given her no little trouble. Here is one of the above sentences in its original condition:—"For Godes sak Syr, oulde mea excwsyd that I wryt not my sylf to your Grace, for I han no layfyr [laysyr ?] thys tym, bot wyt a wishse I would I wer wyt your Grace now, and many tyms mor, wan [?] I wold andsyr."

preceding two years between James and his brother-in-law, was on the point of breaking out into an open quarrel. It is at this crisis that Margaret makes her next appearance in history. Dr. Nicholas West, whom Henry had sent to Scotland to endeavour to arrange matters, in a dispatch written from Stirling on the 1st of April, mentions that he had had a conversation with Queen Margaret after dinner on the Saturday preceding, when she asked him if her brother had sent her the jewels bequeathed to her in her father's Will. West replied that he had the jewels with him, and was ready to deliver them provided her husband would promise to keep the treaty of peace. "And not else?" rejoined her Majesty. "No," said West; and informed her moreover, that if James would go to war Henry would not only withhold the legacy, but would take from them the best towns they had. Before he had quite finished the sentence King James came into the room, and the dialogue went no farther; but a few days afterwards we have Margaret writing to her brother on the subject of it with becoming spirit. After thanking Henry for a letter West had brought her from his Majesty expressing the great concern with which he had heard of her being ill, she goes on to say that she cannot believe it is with his consent or by his command that she is dealt with in the matter of her father's legacy after so *friendly* a fashion. It is a thing of which she would neither have spoken nor written, if the ambassador had not himself introduced it in delivering his credentials. Her husband knows that it is on his account that the legacy is withheld, and, in so far as he can ascertain its value

he will take care that she shall be no loser. "We are ashamed therewith," she says, "and would God never word had been thereof." It did not deserve the estimation which her brother put upon it in his divers letters about it. "Our husband," the letter concludes, "is ever the langer the better to us, as knaws God, wha, right high and mighty prince, our dearest and best beloved brother, have you in governance. Given under our signet at our palace of Linlithgow, the 11th day of April."*

West had another interview with her Majesty on the day before this letter was written, when she had self-control enough to behave as if she had dismissed the subject from her thoughts. It was a Sunday; he had ridden from Edinburgh, and arrived at Linlithgow about four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as he came into her presence she asked him what answer he had had from her husband, of whom he had finally taken leave at Edinburgh on the preceding day. West told her James would give him no farther satisfaction than heretofore, and that he even persisted in refusing to put his answer, such as it was, in writing. Her Majesty said he was afraid it should be shown in France. The ambassador observed that he must then stand in great awe of France if he durst not, for fear of the king of that country, declare in writing that he would keep to what he had sworn. On this she admitted that she was very sorry that her husband would so act, for now her brother was in the right, and he was in the wrong. "Howbeit," West proceeds, in his dispatch giving an

* *Ellis, First Series*, I. 65.

account of the interview to his master, "she said she had done the best that was in her power, and so would continue; and, without farther communication of her legacy or any other matter, she delivered me tokens to your Grace, to the Queen, and the Princess, and prayed me to recommend her to your Grace. And so I took my leave. And she commanded me to be brought to see the Prince, and so I was. Verily he is a right fair child, and a large of his age." * It ought to be mentioned that it was James himself who, in parting with the ambassador, had desired him to go to Linlithgow before he left Scotland to see the Queen and the Prince, telling him that her Majesty had some tokens, or remembrances, to send by him to her brother and his wife.

Within four months from this time James had spread his banner on the Boroughmoor of Edinburgh; whence, having there collected the largest army that had ever gathered around the royal standard of Scotland, he soon after set out at its head to meet his fate on the disastrous field of Flodden. Margaret, as she had promised, had continued to the last to do all in her power to avert the war; but she reasoned, and besought, and wept in vain. It is related that, among other appeals which she made to her husband, she held up to him their infant boy, as yet little more than a twelvemonth old, and implored him that, if his quarrel with her brother must be decided by a resort to arms, he would at least himself remain at home, and not recklessly expose his distracted kingdom to all the risks of a long

* *Ellis, First Series*, I. 74.

minority, and his heir, the only survivor of their five children, to the probable chance of having his sceptre wrested from hands too feeble for its grasp. It has even been suspected that her Majesty may have had something to do with the famous apparition of the elderly man, with the bald forehead and the great pike-staff in his hand, who, while James, shortly before proceeding on his expedition, was in the church of Linlithgow—"very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage"—made his way forward among the crowd of lords, crying out for the King, and then, when he had delivered his warning message, while his Majesty was studying to put his answer into words, "vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen."* The only thing, it may be observed, to which his supernatural visitant desired James to pay special attention if he would go on with his enterprise was, that he came near no woman, nor used any woman's counsel; "for if thou do," said he, "thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame." It was the instigation of a woman, Anne of Bretagne, the French Queen, which more than anything else had originally driven James into this war; she had sent him a ring from her finger, and had written to him in the most passionate strain, terming him her knight and her love, and beseeching him, in return for all the blame she had braved in defending his honour, to advance with his army but three steps into English ground for her his mistress' sake. Gallantry, in every sense, was

* *Pitscottie.*

the soul of James's character. It was but a few weeks after his vision at Linlithgow that, having crossed the Tweed and advanced into England, he found the beautiful Mrs. Heron at her husband's castle of Ford; where, captivated by the siren, while his natural son the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was with him, paid as ardent court to her not less lovely daughter, he wasted many precious and irrecoverable days. Queen Margaret may perhaps have had a share too in the awful summons thundered at midnight from the cross of Edinburgh before the marching of the host, by which the several leaders were summoned each by name to appear within the space of forty days before the judgment seat of Pluto, till another voice broke in and appealed from that infernal lord to Him on High, whereupon the summoner screamed and disappeared; but afterwards, when the field was stricken, as the Scottish chronicler assures us, "there was no man that escaped that was called in this summons, but that one man alone which made his protestation, and appealed from the said summons; but all the lave [rest] were perished in the field with the King."*

The defeat of Flodden, on the 9th of September 1513, was perhaps the most signal blow that ever fell upon a nation without laying it prostrate at the feet of the victor; and the conquest of a country has often been the result of a single battle far less widely destructive. All had been perilled, and nearly all was lost. When the great council of the kingdom was

* *Pitscottie.*

hastily called together at Perth, scarcely any except the ecclesiastical members assembled at the summons; the nobility had all been cut off with their king, with the exception only of the few whom extreme youth or extreme age had detained from the strife and the slaughter. The moment might seem the least favourable for confiding the government to a woman, the more especially among a people to whom that experiment was new; but yet in the circumstances it seemed as if there was nothing else that could be done. Margaret, accordingly, assumed the regency, to which her husband had nominated her in his Will in the event of his death, and to which she was called besides by the public voice. Her reputation for superior ability, and her affability and other good qualities, in addition to her youth and good looks, had made her a popular favourite. It is not probable, however, that, in the distracted condition of the kingdom, she could have maintained her position long, however prudently she had conducted herself. As it was, she had a very speedy downfal.

It is said that the first thing which disposed Margaret to be willing to resign her regency was an expectation she was at one moment led to entertain, that her hand was about to be solicited by Louis the Twelfth of France. This must have been after January 1514, in which month it was that Louis was left a widower, and before May or June, when he had proposed himself for her sister. But, however this may have been, the facts are that Margaret was delivered of a posthumous son on the 30th of April, and that on the 6th of

August thereafter,—not quite eleven months from the time of King James's death—she terminated her widowhood by becoming the wife of the Earl of Angus. Archibald Douglas, the sixth Earl of Angus, may have been about her own age. He had only this same year succeeded to the title by the deaths, first of his father, George Master of Angus, slain at Flodden with King James, and soon after of his grandfather, Archibald the fifth Earl, the renowned Bell-the-Cat—heart-broken, as it is affirmed, by the private and public sorrows that had fallen upon his old age. The young Earl had been previously married to the Lady Mary Hepburn, daughter of Patrick first Earl of Bothwell; and she had died in child-bed only the preceding year.

Margaret's marriage appears to have lost her at once the hearts both of the nobility and the people. The regency was immediately taken from her, and conferred upon the Duke of Albany, the second cousin of the late King, and, if his issue should fail, the heir to the throne. Albany, who had been born and brought up in France, and was a Frenchman in all respects except in descent, made it one of his first objects when he came over to Scotland, to obtain possession of the young King and his brother; and Margaret was at length compelled to deliver the royal children into his hands. She then fled to England, whither she had for some time been secretly and earnestly urged by her brother to repair with her two boys, but where she was probably far from being so welcome when she presented herself alone, or accompanied only by her husband. She got across the

Border in the beginning of October, and immediately proceeded to Harbottle, where eight days after her arrival she was delivered of a daughter, who the next day received her own name of Margaret. From Harbottle, as soon as she was able to be moved, she was transferred to Morpeth; and there she was detained by illness for some months. Meanwhile, the younger of her two sons, who was named Alexander and styled the Duke of Ross, and who is reported to have been a child of remarkable beauty and vivacity, died in Stirling Castle on the 18th of December, not, if the popular talk might be believed, without his relation Albany being more or less answerable for his death. It was said that he had perished either by poison or from neglect. This, however, was probably mere wanton and worthless speculation.

While Margaret lay ill at Morpeth, too, her husband made his peace with Albany, and, leaving her to herself, returned to Scotland. What reasons Angus may have had for taking this course can only be conjectured; it may have been the result of an arrangement between them, with the view of saving his estates from confiscation, while she was incurring the risk of losing whatever she had in Scotland by remaining out of the kingdom; or they may have quarrelled, and acted each without reference to the interests of the other. Some time before this, while she was endeavouring to retain the possession of her children, Angus had taken care to make public protestation in due legal form that he did not concur with her, and that he thought the children should be surrendered to the government. It is not

unlikely that their precipitate affection suffered a very rapid reduction of its first ardour. Margaret, though both warm-hearted, and in a certain sense high-minded, was passionate and imperious; Angus, on the other hand, was both thoughtless and dissolute. The common account is, that his wife was first estranged from him by the discovery of one of his irregular amours. But, however the estrangement may have been brought about, they had evidently very soon become indifferent to or tired of one another; little trace is to be found of any cordiality between them after this flight of Margaret to England, within little more than a year from the date of their marriage. It was not, however, till some years later that she seems to have fully made up her mind to have nothing more to do with him.

As soon as she recovered her strength she proceeded to London. On the 27th of April, 1516, we have her writing from Stony Stratford to King Henry, that she had arrived at that place the night before in good health, and rejoicing as much as any woman could do in the hope of soon being with a beloved brother, as, she adds, she has great cause, her only trust and confidence being in God and in him.* She rested for three days at Enfield; and then, on the 3rd of May, she was met by Henry at Tottenham, whence they came on together to town the same day, her Majesty riding behind Sir Thomas Parr (the same whose daughter long afterwards became the sixth and last of Henry's wives). The cavalcade, moving along Cheapside, reached Baynard's Castle, where it had been appointed that

* *Ellis, First Series*, I. 129.

Margaret should be lodged, about six o'clock in the afternoon.* About a fortnight afterwards a solemn jousting, which lasted for two days, was held by Henry in honour of his sister, "wherein," it is recorded, "the King himself, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, and Nicholas Carew, Esq., answered all comers." † One of the combatants, Sir William Kingston, was overthrown, both man and horse, by Henry.‡ Besides her brother, from whom she had parted thirteen years ago, when he was only a boy, Margaret now rejoined her sister, whom she had left at the same time a child hardly five years old, and who had since, as well as herself, been twice married, and, after having filled a royal station, was now also the wife of a subject.

Margaret remained at the court of her brother for about a year. She left London on the 18th of May 1517, "richly appointed and prepared," says Stowe, "of all things necessary for her estate, through the King's great liberality." It had been arranged that, if she would return to Scotland, she should be allowed to enjoy her revenues as Queen Dowager so long as she made no attempt against Albany's government. Having also consented to a reconcilement with her husband, she was met by him on the 15th of June at Lamberton Kirk, the same spot where she had been first formally received fourteen years before as the bride of King James. Henceforth she figures conspicuously for some years as the head of a party in Scottish politics; but in that character we have little to do with her here. Her course was very eccentric, and, regulated

* *Lodge*, 114. † *Stowe*. ‡ *Herbert*.

as it was by circumstance and passion rather than by any sort of principle, was at any moment apt to take a new direction. At the same time she displayed very considerable ability, and her zeal, activity, and boldness, when she had an adequate object, made her not a little formidable. She had no doubt returned from her residence at the court of her brother with the intention of supporting what was called the English interest, and acting as a sort of deputy for Henry: but she very soon threw off that dependence. Nor did she continue long to act in harmony with her husband, who, indeed, for his part, adhered from this time with remarkable steadiness to the English connexion. Various causes contributed to produce a new alienation and rupture between Angus and his wife. She is supposed never to have quite forgiven him for his desertion of her while she lay ill at Morpeth; and since they had come together again his continuance in his old licentious courses had rekindled her resentment in more than its original force. One lady in particular, a daughter of Stuart of Traquair, had gained an extraordinary ascendancy over the Earl, by whom she is said to have been long kept concealed from her friends: she bore him a daughter, Jane Douglas, who became the first wife of Patrick Lord Ruthven, the assassin of Rizzio, and the mother of the first Earl of Gowrie. In addition to all this, Angus is asserted to have embarrassed and distressed her by his spendthrift habits, forcing her even to sell or pawn her plate and jewels to supply his profusion or repair its effects. Margaret had at first endeavoured to obtain the regency for her husband; in September

1517, in writing to Henry's agent, Lord Dacre, she says: "As for my Lord, he shall not take no part but to make good rule in the country, so that they will give him the authority; for it must be a great man that must do it, and I think there should not be none afore him, considering I have married him."* She seems to have borne her various provocations in quiet longer than a person of her high spirit might have been expected to do; but, when she had at last made up her mind to take measures for putting an end to her thraldom, she prosecuted her purpose with her characteristic energy and tenacity. The relief she sought was the effectual one, so familiar in such cases to that age, of a dissolution of her marriage,—which, it is to be remembered, could then be accomplished only by a judgment of the competent authority that it was not nor ever had been a legal marriage at all.

One consequence of her taking up this project was remarkable: it induced her to apply to her old antagonist, the Duke of Albany, as the person most likely to be able to promote her suit at the Court of Rome. The principal ground upon which she is said to have at first proposed to proceed in demanding the nullification of her marriage with Angus was a very curious one; she alleged, it seems, that, as she had since heard, her former husband, King James, was still alive when it took place, having survived the battle of Flodden three years.† She probably soon found, however, that nothing was to be made of that extraordinary plea. But a confederation with Albany presented other advantages besides

* *Pinkerton*, II. 468. † *Herbert*, 50.

the hope of obtaining her divorce through his assistance and influence. She had not been very liberally dealt with by her brother in pecuniary matters; there was reason to believe that her services would be more highly appreciated and better paid by the French party. At any rate, by going over to that side she would probably get her claims attended to by the existing government of Scotland, which was still directed by Albany, although he had for the present left the country and returned to France. Margaret herself very frankly states this view of the case in a vindication of her conduct which she addressed to Dacre from Edinburgh in July 1520. When she returned to Scotland, she says, she had hoped that the government and she would have maintained a good agreement, and that she would have been allowed peaceably to enjoy what legally belonged to her. "Howbeit," she proceeds, "I am not the betterer, for I was never so evil answered nor obeyed of my Lords as I am sin my last coming into Scotland, as I have oftentimes written both to the King my brother, and to my Lord Cardinal, and you. Howbeit I gat ne remedy, and I did shaw you, my Lord, in my writings that I did write to you, whilk ye have, that, and I gat not shortly help, that I must do what the Duke and the Lords of this realm will have me to do; for I have nane here that will help me of my complaint, nor do me justice; so that I may not live to my honor. And my living is here; I maun cast me to please this realm. . . . . My Lord, I pray you remember, that, and ye were in another realm, where ye should live your life, ye would do that ye

might to please them, so that they should not have any mistrust of you; and so must I." *

Having come to an understanding with her Majesty, Albany returned to Scotland, after an absence of between four and five years, in November 1521. Immediately on his arrival, Margaret, leaving her husband, who at the same time fled to the Border, hurried from Edinburgh to meet the Regent at Linlithgow. Here the two former political rivals rapidly became so intimate, that the tongue of scandal began to be very busy, and it was generally believed that much more than a political union had sprung up between them. There was nothing in the character of Albany opposed to such a supposition, any more than in that of Margaret; he appears, indeed, to have been much more of a man of gallantry and elegant accomplishments than of a politician. His age at this time was probably between thirty and forty. We may judge how distinct a shape the reports had assumed from the terms in which Dacre ventured to refer to them, in certain instructions which he delivered to a confidential person whom he sent to Margaret from Harbottle in the beginning of March 1522, and which were specially directed to be "showed and declared unto the Queen's grace of Scotland" by that individual, who was an old servant of her own. After stating that it had come to the knowledge of the King his sovereign that her Grace was departed from the Earl of Angus her husband, contrary to all good order, and that, according to common report, she had left Edinburgh by night, and had been met without

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 278.

the town by Sir James Hamilton, the deadly enemy of Angus, and by him conveyed to Linlithgow; Dacre observes that "it standeth not with her honor to leave her husband by counsel of any man," and then he calls upon her "to remember what dishonorable bruits are spoken of her Grace in Scotland, in the leaving of her said husband, and following the advice of such as finally may and of likelihood shall be her destruction, both in fame and otherwise." "Item," he adds in conclusion, "finally ye shall show unto her Grace that, in thus ordering herself in the premises, neither regarding her own honour, the surety of the King her son, ne yet of her said husband or of herself, her Grace may not look for any favour at the King my said sovereign's hand; for it is thought she is sore abused under colour of fair promises, which be but illusions, and finally shall bring her Grace in the displeasure of God, to her dishonor and undoing at length." *

Margaret, who was at Stirling when this dispatch was brought to her, immediately replied to it at great length. Her letter is highly characteristic and curious. She has read, she tells Dacre, his articles, or charges, "which," she remarks, "are right sharp, and specially at the ending of them." In part she has communicated her mind to the bearer of this her answer, "because it were ower long to write;" but still she has something to add. "My Lord, as to my Lord of Angus," she says, "gif he had desired my company or my love, he would have shawn him more kindly than he hath done. For now of late, whan I come to Edinburgh to him, he

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 284.

took my houses without my consent, and withhalded my living frae me; which he should not do of reason, nor that is not the way to desire [deserve?] my good will. And I so have taken both great displeasure of Scotland and trouble, and had no help of the King's grace my brother, nor no love of my lord of Angus; and he to take my living at his pleasure and dispone it, methink, my Lord, ye should not think this reasonable, gif ye be my friend, as I trust ye be." She then proceeds to defend herself from the general charge of bearing "so good mind" to the Duke of Albany. Were it not for the kindness that the Duke has shown her, she would have been constrained to part with her jewels for a subsistence. "My Lord," she says, "I trust the King's grace my brother will consider me as I that am his sister; that I must bear good mind where I find good deed; for, as I find, I must shaw. And I trust his Grace will love him the better that he doth for me. And I can not perceive but that the Duke of Albany may do the King's grace my brother as much stead in this realm, and more, than any other; which I know well his Grace may have ony way that he pleases of him." Afterwards, passing from this topic, she addresses herself to Dacre's more particular accusation. "My Lord Dacres," she begins, "ye should not give so lightly credence to evil tales of me as ye do, . . . suppose ye bear great favour to my Lord of Angus, as I see ye do; howbeit I have seen it as far otherwise. I must cast me to please this realm, sin I have my living here, and few friends but through my good bearing. Wherefore they shall have no cause of reason to

hold my living frae me." She then denies that she left Edinburgh in the night; all the Lords knew of her coming away; besides she saw no good in remaining longer there. "And, where ye say," she continues, "that I am ruled by the counsel that will never do me good nor honor; my Lord, I did never dishonor to myself, nor them that I am come of; nor, methink, ye should not give credence to that of me, both for the King's grace my brother's sake, and the King my father, whose soul God pardon." As for Sir James Hamilton, she could not hinder him from riding along with her on the public high-road, but he convoyed her not; it was other Lords who brought her to Linlithgow, as was well known. "My Lord," she then goes on, "also ye write right sharply to me in your last article, saying that I do dishonor to myself, that bideth from my Lord of Angus; and that I follow them that will be my destruction, and cannot stand with the pleasure of the King's grace my brother; and that I may not look for ony favour at the King's grace my brother's hand, for it is thought that I am sair abused, under colour of fair promises, which should bring me to the displeasure of God, and my dishonor and undoing at length. My Lord, this is sore words, and unkindly. If this be the King my brother's mind, I being his sister, that evil and false folk shall make sich report of me, and so lightly credence to be given to the same, it is right heavy to me; and I may think it strange that my Lord of Angus may make the King my brother so displeased at me. . . . . Wherefore it is no marvel suppose others be

unkindly, considering that I took my Lord of Angus against all Scotland's will, and did him the honour that I could; wherethrough I lost the keeping of my son, my house of Stirling, my rule of the realm, which I had by right, that might not have been taken from me, and all this for his sake. And now himself hath shawn him as unkindly to me as is possible, which all the realm knaws; halding my living from me, as far as he may. And, above all thing, he spake openly dishonor of me, which is no token of love; and I did neither displeasure nor dishonor to him, as is well kenned." This, she insists, is not the proper way to make her return to Angus. It was of her own pleasure that she took him at first; she will not be *boasted,* or brow-beaten, into taking him again now. In conclusion, she tells Dacre that she would have trusted to find in him a helper with her brother the King rather than a hinderer. "Ye must hold me excused," she says, "that I write so plainly, for ye have written sharply to me."*

This was a clever effort of female eloquence; but whether it produced any effect in shaking Dacre's convictions may be doubted. Margaret, however, renewed her connexion with his Lordship and the English party soon after this. In July 1524, Albany having in the end of the preceding year left Scotland for France, from which he never returned, her son, the young King, at her instigation, put an end to the regency, and took the government into his own hands. As James was at this time only entering his thirteenth year, the effect of

* *Pinkerton*, II. 469—472.

the revolution was to make his mother for the present the ruler of the kingdom. It is immediately after this that we first hear of her Majesty's partiality for a new minion, the young and handsome Henry Stuart, second son of Andrew Lord Avandale. One of the earliest acts of her government was to appoint the fortunate youth, all unknown as he was till thus suddenly distinguished, to the high office of Lord Treasurer; and it is asserted that she soon after committed to him in addition the Great Seal, or in other words, made him *pro tempore* Lord Chancellor. She now also resumed the agitation of her project of a divorce with greater zeal than ever. She had long seen, however, that the only way in which her emancipation could be accomplished was by the consent and connivance of her husband, or rather in concert with him and by his positive assistance. More than two years before this, while she was in league with Albany, Lord Dacre had learned, by his espials, or spies, as he says, which he kept near her, that she had got various persons to apply to Angus on the subject, and had offered, if he would come into her views, to make over to him the Forest of Ettrick, producing twelve hundred marks Scots of annual revenue. Dacre states that, upon hearing what was going on, he had showed to the said Earl such persuasions, that he had induced him to allow himself to be bodily sworn upon the holy Evangelists never to consent to the divorce without his, Dacre's, advice;* but the scene of Scottish politics at this date can only be compared to the dust by the wayside in a windy day, every moment

* *Ellis, Second Series*, I. 285.

blown into a new arrangement; and no engagement, however solemn, could bind anybody long, in the incessant changes and reversals of positions and interests. By the beginning of the next year, 1525, we have Margaret again secretly intriguing with her old friend Albany. Henry now wrote to his sister in the most furious style, upbraiding her with both her public and her private conduct in unmeasured terms. As she read his letter, in the presence of the English ambassador who had presented it, her irrepressible indignation burst forth in an agony of tears; she could hardly read on; she continued weeping for a full hour after, and then, exclaiming that such a letter was never before written to a noble woman, she desired the ambassador to inform his master that, if he would not write more calmly, she would receive no more of his letters, for such another would prove her death.* No cordiality ever grew up again between them; and we are probably to trace to their present rupture, and the mistrust and dislike with which Henry from this time regarded his elder sister, the testamentary arrangement which he made, or all but made, more than twenty years afterwards, regarding the succession to the English crown. Not, however, that Margaret was never again employed in the service of the English government; she continued as heretofore to court every interest in turn, and we have her acting now against, now with or for, England, France, Angus, and her son, the King, in restless vicissitude, so long as she retained any political consequence, or could render services in the way of

* *Pinkerton*, II. 267.

intrigue or espionage which any party thought worth the purchasing.

In all this rapid and incessant gyration she was no doubt mainly driven by other than political passions. Her great object for some years was to get Angus to go along with her in her suit for the dissolution of their marriage; and she did at last succeed in prevailing upon him to forget his engagement to Dacre and his oath upon the Evangelists. The matter appears to have been managed by his acknowledging a previous contract, or promise of marriage, with another lady, who, according to one account, was the same by whom he had the daughter who afterwards married Lord Ruthven. Whoever the lady was, she was probably dead by this time, otherwise the Earl's confession would, I presume, have made her his wife, or at least would have given her the right of demanding that he should fulfil his contract and make her such. One version of the story, indeed, affirms that, so far from being yet dead, she lived as long as he did, and that he carried her about with him to the end of his days. But, however this may be, the necessary authority having been received from Rome about a year before, the divorce between Angus and Queen Margaret was pronounced at St. Andrew's by James Bethune, Lord Chancellor and Metropolitan, in March 1526; upon which her Majesty, it is said, immediately had herself formally married to her paramour, Henry Stuart.

Such ceremony as there was, however, was, it seems, privately performed; and we are told that King James, who had not yet completed his fourteenth year, was so

incensed when he first heard of Stuart's audacity in having dared to marry his mother without asking his consent, that he forthwith sent Lord Erskine with an armed force to the Castle of Stirling, where the delinquent and Margaret had taken up their residence together, to seize the person of his new stepfather; whereupon Stuart was delivered up by his wife, and was kept for some time in durance. But Margaret soon regained her ascendancy over her son. By July 1528, Angus and the Douglases, who had for some time kept possession of the government, having been driven from power, Stuart is not only again at large, but at the head of affairs, and has been made by James a peer, with the title of Lord Methven.

James, however, soon threw off the tutelage both of Methven and his mother; and from this time we hear little more of Queen Margaret for a good many years. But when Sir (then only Mr.) Ralph Sadler was sent on his first embassy to Scotland, in the beginning of the year 1537, it was thought expedient that he should take with him letters from Henry to his sister as well as to her son. Writing to Thomas Cromwell from Newcastle on the 28th of January, on his way down, Sadler mentions that he had just heard that the Queen of Scots had entered, or was about to enter, a religious house, and to become a sister in the same—"which," he adds, however, "I take to be no gospel."* It turned out that she was only seeking a new divorce. Her relations with Methven had now reached the same point of unendurability as her former ones with Angus.

* *Cott. MS. Calig.* B. II. 344.

They seem no longer to have been living together. She accused him, in particular, of wasting her property and squandering her revenues;* and it is likely enough that he may have done so, for she had, no doubt, thrown all she had into his hands in the first violence of her affection, and he would scarcely be inclined to have his licence curtailed as her passion cooled.

She had, in fact, already commenced legal proceedings for the accomplishment of her object. Whether, being as yet only in her forty-eighth year, she had any views of a fourth husband, does not appear. Nor are we told upon what pretext she proposed to have her present marriage annulled. She herself states, in a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, Henry's Lieutenant-General in the North, written, apparently, in the latter part of this year 1537, that the sentence was then prepared, and that all that remained to be done to finish the business was to have it publicly pronounced; and she asserts that her son, the King, had some time before promised his consent. He had since, however, been induced to take another view of the matter, and had commanded the proceedings to be stopped; and she now begs Norfolk to interpose in her behalf, and to employ his influence to induce James to withdraw his opposition.†

Although her own influence in state affairs had, by this time, been reduced to nothing, her political ambition was still as strong as ever. In writing to her brother to thank him for the letter he had sent her by Sadler, she informs Henry that she could yet serve

* *Pinkerton*, II. 343. † *Ibid.* 351.

him if James were only a kind son, and if he would enforce obedience to her authority in all particulars.* Sadler's report, however, seems to have satisfied the English Government that any further extraordinary court to her was quite unnecessary; and accordingly, when the same sagacious emissary was sent down again in February 1540, he carried no credentials to "the old Queen," but only instructions to visit her, and say to her, with Henry's "most hearty and effectual recommendations," that his Majesty was "most desirous to hear of her good health and prosperity, having given unto him a special charge to bring him perfect advertisement of the same," and to show her how that it was also a part of his charge to learn and know how she was used, and how all things went at the Scottish court. This formal civility she did not receive in the best humour. When he had delivered his message, Sadler states in his despatch to King Henry, Margaret answered that she was glad to learn that her brother was in good health, and asked how the Queen was. She took it, however, he adds, the most unkindly that might be, that she had no letters from his Majesty. She said she perceived his Majesty set not much by her; "but," she went on, "though I be forgot in England, shall I never forget England. It had been but a small matter to have spent a little paper and ink upon me, and much it had been to my comfort; and, were it perceived that the King's grace my brother did regard me, I should be the better regarded of all parties here." Sadler, in reply, explained or excused

* *Pinkerton*, II. 343.

everything in the best way he could, and satisfied her Grace perfectly, he assures Henry, before he left her. They had no conversation, he says, about public matters worthy of being detailed to his Majesty, although she told him also "of her own affairs, how she was well treated, and much made of of the new Queen, with such other things of light importance." Perhaps among the things which Sadler deemed of light importance may have been her matrimonial grievances, and her suit for another divorce; but, if she entertained him with any such talk, the discreet envoy, although he would no doubt listen with a becoming show of interest, deems it not at all necessary to remember it.*

Queen Margaret's, it must be confessed, was not a graceful or dignified way of growing old. However, it was not fated that she should obtain her liberation from Methven by the help of any human law, canon or other. Her new divorce project never got beyond the point at which it stood in 1537. She was in St. Andrew's, and officiated as godmother at the baptism there of her grandchild, King James's first-born, in the end of May 1539, and this is the last appearance she makes in the common histories. The old writers who mention her death generally state that it took place this same year.† We have seen, however, that she was alive when Sadler came down to Scotland in February 1540. She appears, in fact, to have lived till after the commencement, if not till near the close, of 1541.‡ She died at Methven,

* *Negociations*, 50.

† *Leslæus*, 449; *Calderwood*, I. 138; *Balfour*, I. 270.

‡ Pinkerton (II. 371) conjectures that she probably died about June 1541, from the circumstance of a charter being granted to Lord Methven

her husband's seat in Perthshire—though, perhaps, he may not have been there at the time; and she had an honourable as well as a very sumptuous funeral in the church of the Carthusian Monastery at Perth, her remains being deposited in the same tomb which had received those of James the First, the illustrious founder, about a century before. Her royal son, only as yet in the early summer of his days, little thought, as he looked on, surrounded by a throng of his nobility, that in little more than a twelvemonth he himself should follow his mother "from sunlight to the sunless land." King James the Fifth died, broken-hearted, on the 14th of December 1542, a week after the birth of his daughter and only surviving child, Mary,—also one day to become well acquainted with the fate that pursued her unhappy line.

Margaret, the Scottish Queen, had not the delicate beauty of her younger sister;—round-faced, and inclined to be stout, she attracted more by a blooming complexion than by any exquisite symmetry of feature; but she, too, was accounted handsome. By her last husband, Lord Methven, she is said to have had one son, who must apparently have been the Master of Methven mentioned in some accounts as having been slain at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, by which time he might

in the following month, without the usual mention of the Queen Dowager. Both in the *Chronicle of Perth*, p. 2, and in the *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, p. 24, she is stated to have died in 1541; but the former authority gives the day as St. *Munokis* day, the latter as the 24th of November. I find no saint with a name resembling *Munok* in the common lists.

have reached his twentieth year. Not only Methven, but his predecessor Angus also, survived her. Angus formed no other matrimonial connexion (unless he may have taken back some prior wife) all Queen Margaret's lifetime; but in April 1543 he married Margaret, daughter of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell.* He died in 1556, and, leaving no male issue, was succeeded in the Earldom by a brother. Lord Methven also soon took a second wife, the Lady Janet Stewart, or the Countess of Sutherland, as she appears to have been styled from her first marriage, of whom an account has been given in a former page.† He is said to have been her third husband, and she was the mother by him of a son and three daughters. Lord Methven is supposed to have died in 1551 or 1552. Some years afterwards his widow, entering into wedlock, if we may rely upon the common account, for the fourth time, became the second wife of Patrick Lord Ruthven; and, soon after, her youngest daughter by Methven married Ruthven's eldest son, who was subsequently created Earl of Gowrie. The descent of the children of the first Earl of Gowrie, through their mother, from Lord Methven gave rise late in the seventeenth century to a misapprehension, which Burnet adopts,‡ that they were descended from Queen Margaret; so that, it was argued, the third Earl, the author of the conspiracy, might pretend a sort of

* "This day the Earl of Angus hath married the Lord Maxwell's daughter, which hitherto hath been protracted by the Governor [Arran], and now at last accomplished with his good will and consent."—*Sadler to King Henry VIII.*, 9th April, 1543.

† See *ante*, p. 120.

‡ *Own Time*, I. 19.

claim to the English crown if James were out of the way, whence probably his principal motive to that attempt. That this notion was entirely without foundation there can be no doubt. There was some irregularity about the birth of the Countess of Gowrie, for her brother and she and her two sisters had all to be legitimated, as has been already noticed, by special grant. They may possibly have all been born during the lifetime of Queen Margaret. They were, however, the children of Lord Methven, not by her Majesty, but by the Countess of Sutherland.

THE LADY ARABELLA STUART.

Both the daughters of Henry the Seventh, then, the French Queen and the Scottish Queen, have disappeared from the scene before the curtain has dropt upon the life and reign of their brother the King of England. Mary, after being twice married, has died in 1533, at the age of thirty-five; Margaret eight years later, and in her third wedlock, at that of fifty-two. King Henry himself, leaving behind him his sixth wife, follows in 1547, at that of fifty-six. The busy history is all over before the middle of the century.

Even in that era of multitudinous marrying, when, what with the many chances of violent or otherwise sudden death, what with both the elasticity of the law and the laxity of opinion on the matter of matrimony, wives and husbands were shaken off with so much facility, such another example in one family would probably not be easily found. Eleven marriages are made by a brother and two sisters, no one of whom attains what may be called length of days. Their surviving partners are all three young enough to marry again. Henry's widow, too, had been married to another person before she became his wife; Brandon, Mary's husband, had also had a previous wife, if not two; nor is it quite certain that Margaret's husband, Lord

Methven, had not had one. Altogether, if to the marriages of the brother and the two sisters we add the others of their various wives and husbands, the number will amount to twenty at least.

Most of these marriages were incidents more or less important in the political drama of the time; some of them had consequences affecting the course of national events which have continued operative ever since. Of the eleven marriages of Henry and his two sisters seven were productive; but of four of the seven the issue failed after the first generation,—those, namely, of Henry with Catharine of Aragon, with Anne Boleyn, and with Jane Seymour, and that of Margaret with Lord Methven. Only those of Margaret with James the Fourth of Scotland and with the Earl of Angus, and that of Mary with Charles Brandon, will continue the race of the first Tudor king. Henry's son and two daughters, by three several mothers, will successively wear his crown till the end of the century,—the last of them for four-fifths of the whole time; and then there will be an end of him and his. The posterity of Margaret by her first marriage has reigned ever since then; and its history is part of that of the kingdom for the last two hundred and fifty years. But the story of one of her descendants by her second marriage is as romantic as that of one of the descendants of her sister, which has been already related; and the resemblance of their fortunes and their fates, the same position and circumstances reproducing the same results, is very remarkable. The repetition, too, is rendered the more striking by its being the descendant of the same

Seymour who figures in the story of the Lady Catharine Grey, that appears and plays the same part in that of the Lady Arabella Stuart.

The tomb had closed upon the tragedy of the granddaughter of Mary, the French queen, a few years before the great-grand-daughter of Margaret, the Scottish queen, came into existence. The one was in her coffin before the other was in her cradle.

The daughter whom Queen Margaret bore to Angus at Harbottle in October 1515, and to whom she gave her own name, must have had but a forlorn childhood. And the legal sentence which dissolved the marriage between her father and mother, which took place when she was in her eleventh year, would, it is to be remembered, at the same time make her illegitimate, and deprive her of all rights of inheritance through either father or mother, if the law was permitted to have its natural and customary operation; for that sentence, it is to be remembered was really, as in all such cases, a judicial declaration that the pretended marriage never had been a marriage at all. The parties were not separated, and could not be separated, as in our modern parliamentary divorces, for anything that either had done since the marriage, but solely on some plea which incapacitated one or other for contracting it, and consequently rendered it null from the beginning. If the case, then, was not in some way or other made an exceptional one, Margaret Douglas was illegitimate, and her posterity could inherit no rights or claims of descent through her.

In her own lifetime her illegitimacy was affirmed

to be indisputable by parties professing to be well informed of all the circumstances. The matter underwent some investigation in 1562, and a note of certain examinations then taken has been preserved endorsed by Sir William Cecil. One Alexander Pringle, or Apringle, is therein made to state the following facts;—Sir George Douglas (probably a near relative of Angus) had shown an English gentleman at Berwick the divorcement under seal between Angus and Queen Margaret, "upon a precontract with the Lady Traquair; for the which also the Queen sought the Earl's death." Not only was her Majesty's subsequent marriage with Harry Stuart (Methven) solemnised without let or contradiction from Angus, although then both within the realm of Scotland and possessed of the supreme rule and authority; but he "kept the Lady Traquair all his days after." His daughter by Queen Margaret, Pringle asserts, was openly taken and reputed in Scotland to be illegitimate. The King would have married her, as his base sister, to the present Earl of Huntley; she herself wished to marry the Earl of Bothwell; "and the Queen her mother last of all would have had her marry the Captain of Downs, called James Stuart, and second brother to Harry Stuart, her husband." In a subsequent examination the witness states that Angus had issue by Lady Traquair the last Lady Ruthven. All accounts agree that the first wife of Patrick Lord Ruthven, and the mother of the first Earl of Gowrie, was a natural daughter of the Earl of Angus. Pringle also affirms that Harry Stuart, before being in a condition to

marry Queen Margaret, had to get himself divorced from a previous wife, the Lady Lyslie,*—which, if true, is a fact that is suppressed in the common accounts.

On the other hand, Lesley the Bishop of Ross, also a contemporary, in his Latin History, distinctly asserts that, when the marriage of Angus and Margaret was dissolved, it was with a special reservation of the rights of their daughter, there being no doubt that the mother at least (if not Angus himself too, the form of expression would seem to imply) had been quite ignorant when the marriage was entered into of the legal objections to it; and she seemed, it is added, to be desirous that such a saving clause should be inserted in the sentence.† A mighty demonstration, truly, of maternal affection! It is somewhat remarkable, however, that in the Scottish translation of this portion of his history, which is supposed to have been executed some years later by the Bishop himself, all this is omitted.‡ It may also be observed that both the

* *Haynes*, 381, 382.

† "Aliquanto post Regina Angusium in jus vocari curat coram Archiepiscopo Sanctandreapolitano sistendum, ut illa de divortio controversia, inter illos verbis privatim saepius disceptata, ad juris judiciique formam ac praescriptum juste tandem dirimeretur. Ad diem sistit Angusius. Regina illum fidem primariæ feminæ, ante nuptias secum initas, astrinxisse acerrime contendit. Archiepiscopus Sanctandreapolitanus divortii sententiam tulit, ea tamen lege, ut proles ex eo matrimonio suscepta, propter parentis, saltem Reginæ, ignorantiam, nihil inde damni pateretur; idque eo libentius, et quod res videbatur nulla dubitatione implicita, et quod Reginæ mens in eam partem perpendere videbatur."—*De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum; authore Joanne Leslaeo, Episcopo Rossensi. Romæ*, 1578, pp. 399, 400.

‡ See *The History of Scotland, by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross* (printed

author of *Leicester's Commonwealth* in 1584, and Parsons in his *Conference about the Succession*, published ten years later, speak of the illegitimacy of the daughter of Queen Margaret by Angus as a thing currently believed, without a word of the special restriction in her favour, alleged by Lesley to have been inserted in the sentence annulling the marriage of her father and mother.*

for the Bannatyne Club) ; 4to *Edin.* 1830 ; p. 133. The ground of the sentence is here stated to have been "for that the Earl was first marreit with the Lord Hume's sister, and was never lawfully divorceit from her, whereby the marriage with the Queen was found null and unlawful." Here the Earl of Angus appears to be confounded with the Earl of Arran, whose second wife, from whom he was divorced in 1513, was Elizabeth sister of Alexander Lord Hume. It is added, as in the Latin : "And thereafter she marreit Henry Stuart, son to the Lord Avendale, quilk Henry was eftir maid by the King Lord Methven, and Maister of his great Ordinance."

* *Leicester's Commonwealth*, 147—151 (*Edit.* of 1706) ;—*Conference*, Part II. p. 97.—Neither of these writers, however, had heard of the divorce ; their statements proceed only upon the common rumour that Angus had had another wife living when he married Queen Margaret. Parsons, indeed, is so ill informed that he makes Margaret's marriage with Henry Stuart to have preceded that with Angus, which latter, he argues, for that reason also could not be lawful, Stuart being still alive. Whether another story that he tells can be to any extent corroborated I do not know. He asserts that King Henry, having heard something of the legal impediments which existed to his sister's marriage with Angus, sent down into Scotland the Lord William Howard, "brother to the old Duke of Norfolk and father to the present Lord Admiral of England," (he means the first Lord Howard of Effingham, elder brother, by the same mother, of the Lord Thomas Howard who, as will presently be seen, sought to marry the daughter of Queen Margaret and Angus,) to inquire into the matter ; and that, when it was found that what was reported was quite true, Henry would have prevented the marriage, but it was too late. This, it is added, was thought to be one especial cause and motive which made Henry afterwards in his Will (certainly drawn up, whether fully executed or no) postpone the issue of the Scottish

The Lady Margaret Douglas, as she continued to be styled, whatever was held to be her legal *status*, appears to have been left on the divorce in the hands of her mother; so much may be inferred from what Pringle says; but after about three years, or in 1529, according to this authority, when she would be fourteen, she was stolen by her father, and carried off by him to England. The mother and daughter never met again. The latter was brought up at the court of her uncle King Henry, and the measures he took in an affair in which his niece got involved some years after her arrival in England would seem to imply that he considered her as legitimate as ever. In 1536, when the Lady Margaret was now one-and-twenty, it was discovered that she had entered into a secret contract of marriage with the Lord Thomas Howard, the youngest of the many sons of Thomas second Duke of Norfolk. Henry, Lord Herbert relates, was greatly incensed, "as conceiving that one so joined in blood to him and his nephew the Scottish king should not be given nor taken without his consent, especially when she lived so near him;" and, having committed first Howard, and soon after the Lady Margaret to the Tower, he had the matter immediately brought before Parliament, when Howard, being charged on this and other suspicious circumstances with aspiring to the crown, was attainted of high treason. At the same time an act was passed

Queen to that of her younger sister in the succession to the crown. Burnet, who says he had perused the original bull confirming the divorce of Queen Margaret and Angus, expressly states that the sentence contained "a clause in favour of the issue, since born under a marriage *de facto* and *bonâ fide*."—*Own Time*, I. 18.

(which, however, was repealed in the next reign), making it high treason for any man to marry any of the King's children, whether lawfully born or otherwise commonly reputed for his children, or any of his sisters, or aunts on the father's side, or any of the lawful children of his brothers or sisters, without the royal licence first had under the Great Seal.* "The news hereof," Lord Herbert proceeds, "being brought with speed to Margaret, Queen of Scots, afflicted her much, so that it retarded her journey into England, whither she was coming, being desirous also to be reconciled to her former husband, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. Nevertheless she thought fit (12th August) to write to the King, that, whereas she heard he was displeased with her daughter for promising marriage to the Lord Thomas Howard, intending to punish her for the same, she desired his Majesty to pardon her, and, if he so pleased, to send her into Scotland, that she might come no more in his presence, and not to be extreme to his own blood."† The end was that Lord Thomas died in the Tower, after about four months' imprisonment, on Allhallowmas-even (the 1st of November); on which Lady Margaret was pardoned and released.‡

The new statute would, we may suppose, keep the royal lady for the future rather bare of lovers; but at last, in 1544, Henry bestowed her in marriage, by way of special favour, upon Matthew Stuart Earl of Lennox, a Scottish nobleman who had recently been obliged to fly from his native country, where he had taken a lead-

* *Stat.* 28 *Hen. VIII.*, c. 18. † *Henry VIII.*, 201. ‡ *Stowe.*

ing part in support of what was called the English party, perilling, indeed, in that cause all that he had in the world. The Stuarts, however, had only recently been elevated to their present dignity; the original Earls of Lennox were a Saxon race, too old to have a surname, or any other than the designation of their high feudal honour, which was bestowed upon them by King Malcolm the Fourth in the middle of the twelfth century, and had been borne by a succession of nine or ten potent lords till after the commencement of the fifteenth, when it was suppressed by violence,—without, however, the extinction of claims which have survived, and have continued to be agitated from time to time, down to our own day. The Stuarts were only connected with the old Earls of Lennox by the marriage of one of them with a daughter of that house, about the end of the fourteenth century. They themselves were sprung from a younger son of the same Alexander, High Steward of Scotland, whose eldest son was the grandfather of Robert the Second and the progenitor of all the succeeding Scottish kings; but they also boasted a more recent relationship to the royal family through the marriage of the second Earl (who had fallen at Flodden) with a grand-daughter of King James the Second. He was the grandfather of Matthew, the fourth Earl, who married the Lady Margaret Douglas; and who, having twenty years after been recalled to Scotland, and restored to his rank and possessions by Mary Stuart, was in 1570 (when she in her turn had become a fugitive and an exile) appointed Regent, but was slain at Stirling, as related in all the histories, the following year.

Meanwhile the Countess of Lennox had not altogether escaped by her marriage from the perils of her royal descent. In the peculiar position in which Elizabeth stood at the commencement of her reign, with, in reality, no legal title whatever—for by a statute passed in the time of her sister, and which she magnanimously never troubled herself to get repealed, she was actually illegitimate—it is not to be wondered at that every shadow of a rival claim to the crown was watched with the most sensitive jealousy. A very considerable number of the people were disposed to regard almost any other claim as preferable to hers. The beginning of the year 1562 is particularly noted as having been a moment when some circumstances had given great uneasiness to the government. Camden observes that the Popish party now began—upon what views or expectations he cannot guess—"to whisper about many things in private clubs and cabals," to the effect that the Protestants of England would soon be brought under the same restraints with their brethren in France. "Every place," he says, "was filled with jealousy and apprehension." It was at this very time, the reader may remember, that the affair of the marriage of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catharine Grey broke out, and very probably the unfortunate pair fared the worse for the critical or ticklish condition of public affairs. In other circumstances the condemnation of their alleged marriage might not perhaps have been quite so unhesitatingly or so peremptorily pronounced by the Archbishop and his colleagues in the Commission of Inquiry. Another

discovery that was made at this time was that of the conspiracy of Arthur Pole and his brother, the great grandchildren of Edward the Fourth's brother George Duke of Clarence, who, along with Anthony Fortescue, who had married their sister, and others, were charged with having formed the design of proclaiming Arthur Pole Duke of Clarence, and Mary Stuart Queen of England. And when put upon their trial they confessed themselves guilty, only protesting that they had not intended to put their projects in execution during the lifetime of Elizabeth, who, they had been led to believe, however, from some astrological calculations, would die before the year was at an end. "Upon this," says Camden, "they were condemned; but received their pardon, for the sake of that royal blood that ran in their veins." It was while all this was going on, in this same year 1562, that the Earl of Lennox—married to a person in whom resided a claim to the succession which some were disposed to place above every other—was discovered to be carrying on a secret correspondence with the Queen of Scots. He was immediately committed to the custody of the Master of the Rolls, his wife to that of Sir Richard Saville; and both remained in confinement for some months. At the same time steps were taken with a view to the most summary and effectual demolition of the Countess's royal pretensions, by the establishment of her illegitimacy. Pringle's testimony, noticed above, is a fragment of the evidence that was begun to be collected for that purpose.

It was, of course, equally an object with Mary Stuart

to get rid of the rivalry of the Countess of Lennox; but she went to work in a different way. There were two grounds on which the partizans of the Countess set her claims to the English succession above that of Mary. She had been born in England, while Mary was a foreigner; and she was the daughter, while Mary was only the grand-daughter, of Queen Margaret. In the unsettled state of the doctrine of inheritance at this date, neither of these supposed advantages which the Countess had to plead was to be altogether despised. It was very possible that circumstances might take such a turn as would make their combination decisive in a contest between her and the Queen of Scots. If the vacancy of the English throne, for instance, should happen while the two countries were at war, Mary might find the difficulty of asserting her right very much increased, by the existence of a rival claimant having the double advantage of being of English birth and being also a degree more nearly related than herself to the late sovereign. In any circumstances, besides, the Countess of Lennox, as a Protestant, would be a formidable opponent. These considerations determined Mary to seek to unite the interest of her aunt with her own; and led to the opening of the secret negotiation which ended in the Earl of Lennox returning to his native country, as already mentioned, in 1564. When the next year his eldest son, Lord Darnley, followed him to Scotland, and the news came that he was about to be married to Mary, Lennox's wife and his other son Charles, who had been left in England, were immediately sent by Elizabeth to the

Tower. Camden says it was also resolved that the Lady Catharine Grey and the Earl of Hertford "should now receive some countenance at court, as being the only persons the Queen of Scots seemed to be jealous of as co-rivals to her in point of succession."* It was probably a very short-lived consolation, if any, that poor Lady Catharine derived from knowing that her possible competitor one day for the crown was for the present immured in the same prison with herself.

Lady Lennox, although she was treated at first with great rigour, was soon released. The Earl, having remained in Scotland till he had seen his eldest son murdered within little more than eighteen months after he had been married to the Queen, returned to England in 1567, and made his peace with Elizabeth. When he went back to Scotland three years afterwards, supported by an English army, and got himself elected Regent, he appears to have, as before, left his wife behind him. They had lived, however, in much affection during their union of seven-and-twenty years; and the last words he uttered, as he lay expiring of his wound, were to send the remembrance of his love to his "wife *Meg*" (so he used to call her), and to beseech God to comfort her.†

They had had eight children in all, four sons and four daughters; but all the daughters and two of the sons died in infancy. The only one of the six whose name is even remembered, or who, for anything that is known, lived to be baptized, was their first-born, a son, Henry, who died on the 28th of November 1545

* *Elizabeth*, 397. † *Spotswood*, 257.

at the age of nine months, as may be read on his monumental stone in Stepney church. Lord Darnley, also named Henry, after King Henry the Eighth, was born that same year; and was therefore little more than one-and-twenty when he was murdered on the 9th of February 1567. On the death of the Earl, on the 4th of September 1571, the Earldom of course fell to Darnley's son, King James; but in April 1572 it was regranted to Darnley's younger brother, Charles, now the only survivor of the widowed Countess's eight children, and at this time in his sixteenth year, who consequently became the fifth Earl of Lennox of the Stuart name.

This Charles Earl of Lennox in 1574 married Elizabeth Cavendish, the second of the three daughters of our old acquaintance *Mistress Saintlow*, by this time become Countess of Shrewsbury, by her second husband Sir William Cavendish. There is no doubt that the match was concerted mainly by the bold and scheming Countess, ever intent upon the promotion of the children of her favourite husband; but it is believed that, with whatever view, it was also assented to, if not originally suggested, by Mary Stuart, now a prisoner under the charge of Lord and Lady Shrewsbury. His lordship himself had probably no share in the transaction, which gave great offence to Queen Elizabeth. He did his best, nevertheless, to excuse his wife. He writes to her Majesty upon the subject from Sheffield Castle in the beginning of December. "I must confess to your Majesty," he says, "as true it is, it was dealt in suddenly, and without my knowledge; but, as

I dare undertake and ensure to your Majesty for my wife, she, finding her daughter disappointed of young Barte (Bertie?), where she hoped, and that the other young gentleman was inclined to love with a few days' acquaintance, did her best to further her daughter to this match; without having therein any other intent or respect than with reverent duty towards your Majesty she ought."* He had some time before written at greater length to Leicester; and a few weeks later he addresses himself to Burghley, at the earnest request, as he says, of Lady Lennox, who by this time had found that she too was in danger as well as Lady Shrewsbury. Elizabeth's suspicions and rage, it would appear, had been awakened, not only by the consent Lady Lennox had given to the marriage of her son, but by reports of her ladyship's behaviour to the Scottish Queen when they had lately met at Lord Shrewsbury's. The Earl declares Lady Lennox to have conducted herself in all respects as a loyal subject, and entreats Burghley and the other Lords of the Council to save her from blemish, unless she can really be convicted of some offence towards her Majesty. He does not, he says, and cannot, think that the marriage of that lady's son to his wife's daughter can be taken by any fair judgment to be either an offence or a contempt to her Majesty; and, if so, he conceives that such rights as any subject may claim by law might be permitted to any of his as well as to another. And then he proceeds:—"But I must be plain with your lordship. It is not the marriage matter, nor the hatred some bear to my Lady

* *Lodge*, II. 44.

Lennox, my wife, or to me, that makes this great ado, and occupies heads with so many devices: it is a greater matter, which I leave to conjecture, not doubting but your lordship's wisdom hath foreseen it, and thereof had due consideration, as always you have been most careful for it."* The interpretation of this, it is to be feared, is hardly to be attempted with much chance of success at this distance of time. Both Lady Shrewsbury and Lady Lennox were sent to the Tower; but they probably did not remain there long. A few years later, if the Earl could have got his unquiet helpmate so taken off his hands and kept out of mischief, he would have been in no haste to intercede for her liberation; but, as yet, luckily for her, if his original admiration may be supposed to have been considerably sobered by experience, matters were still in such a state between them that, for appearance sake, if nothing more, he could not rest till she was released.

The Countess's scheme of ambition, however, ere long encountered more serious checks than this. The marriage which she had got accomplished between her daughter and the grandson of Queen Margaret produced one child, a daughter; and then the young Earl sickened and died. The child was most probably born before the end of the year 1575; the Earl's death took place in 1576. And his widow did not long survive; she died at Sheffield Castle on the 21st of January 1582.

Meanwhile, too, the old Countess of Lennox had speedily followed her son. This niece of King Henry the Eighth and grandmother of King James the First,

* *Lodge*, III. 48.

Camden writes, "having survived eight children which she had been mother of, passed to her heavenly country in her climacterical year, and was buried at Westminster with a stately funeral at the Queen's charges. She was a matron of singular piety, patience, and modesty; who was thrice cast into the Tower (as I have heard herself say) not for any crime of treason, but for love makers;"—first, when Lord Thomas Howard fell in love with herself; again when her son Lord Darnley fell in love with the Queen of Scots; lastly, when her other son, Charles, fell in love with Elizabeth Cavendish.* She died at Hackney, as appears from the inscription upon her tomb in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on the 10th of March 1578.

The Countess of Shrewsbury's hope of being the progenitor of a race of kings now, therefore, hung upon the life of her little grand-daughter. It was a slender thread; but as wonderful things had come about as that this little child should yet be Queen of England. It was only required that Elizabeth should die without issue (which she actually did), and that Mary Stuart should not marry again (which she never did), and that her son King James of Scotland should also die childless. If this last casualty had happened, the great-grand-daughter of Margaret Tudor (supposing the legitimacy of Margaret Countess of Lennox not to have been affected by the nullification of the marriage of her father and mother) would on the death of Elizabeth have been the lineal heir to the crown. The only other person who could have pretended anything like a legal

* *Elizabeth*, 46

title would have been the representative of Mary Tudor, under the Will of Henry the Eighth; and that claim was involved in too many difficulties to give it any chance of success. It was founded upon a violation of the regular order of descent, and the exercise of a power of doubtful legality, even if there had been no further question about Henry's Will; but the claim was besides embarrassed, both by the disputable character of that document and by the unrepealed legal judgment against the marriage of Lady Catharine Grey,—which last circumstance alone would have created a controversy to be settled between Edward Lord Beauchamp and the Lady Anne Stanley, before either of these descendants of Mary Tudor could have made out a case against the representative of her elder sister Margaret.

It is not commonly considered in what a singular position the question of the succession to the crown would have stood at the death of Elizabeth but for the existence of the King of Scotland and his children. Not a descendant survived of any of the last four sovereigns; and no other descendant even of the preceding king, Henry the Seventh, would have had a perfectly clear title. It was doubtful whether his elder daughter had left any other legitimate descendant; it was matter of dispute who was the true representative of his younger daughter. In these circumstances every claimant deriving his or her origin from Henry the Seventh might have had to be set aside. Yet to go back beyond that king and the battle of Bosworth was to return to Chaos. It would have been to re-

awaken the strife of the Roses. And it is remarkable that, but for the birth of James, the Scottish succession would, after Mary, have been involved in nearly as inextricable confusion as the English. In this case too there was no other existing descendant of any of the last four sovereigns. It would have been necessary to revert to King James the Second, who died in 1460, and whose line had been continued by his daughter Mary and her second husband, the first Lord Hamilton; but it was disputed who was Mary's representative. Her son, the first Earl of Arran, was the father of the Regent Arran; but when he married the Regent's mother, who was his third wife, his second was still alive; whence many persons held the Regent to be illegitimate. Upon that theory the representative of the Princess Mary and of her father King James the Second, and the lineal heir to the crown, would have to be sought for in the line of the only child of the first Earl of Arran by his first wife, who married the third Lord Avandale, and was the mother of the second Lord Ochiltree, one of whose daughters became the second wife of John Knox and the mother of his three daughters, Mrs. Fleming, Mrs. Pont, and Mrs. Welsh. It is startling to find the last-mentioned lady, the celebrated heroine of the apron,* in a position from which

* See *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, 371, 372, (Edinburgh, 1841).—When, upon her coming up to London in 1622, and petitioning James to permit her husband, who had been banished, and was suffering from ill health, to return to his native air, James said he would grant what she asked if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, she replied lifting up her apron and holding it towards his majesty, "Please your majesty, I 'd rather kep (*receive*) his head there."

a very slight difference in the actual course of events might have lifted her into the throne. Yet, upon our supposition of King James never having come into existence, if the Regent Arran had been set aside as illegitimate, it would at one time have required but some two or three deaths to make the Reformer's wife the lineal heir to the crown, standing, as she did, only third in descent from the Regent's father. And, in any case, both Knox's wife and his daughters had a preferable title to the Regent Lennox, who, nevertheless, on the assumption of Arran's illegitimacy, pretended a right to the succession through his grandmother the daughter of the Princess Mary and the first Lord Hamilton. But for James, it would thus appear, there might have been confusion enough. If not a great fact in any other sense, therefore, the Scottish Solomon was a great convenience. His having come into the world probably prevented a civil war both in his own country and in England. Edward the Third, Henry the Seventh, James the First, and the Electress Sophia — each divided from the other by about a century — make so many successive landing-places in the history of the royal family; or each may be considered as a principal point of divarication, or almost a new root in the genealogical tree. Each, as it were, gathers together and binds up into a knot the straggling and crossing threads of descent in the preceding section of the history.

The orphan daughter of Charles Earl of Lennox and Elizabeth Cavendish, although first cousin to King

James by her father, had no place in the order of succession to the Scottish crown, or no other than such as she might derive through the descent of the Earls of Lennox from the daughter of King James the Second. What made her position important was her claim to the English succession as the representative, in case of the extinction or exclusion of the Scottish King and his children, of the eldest daughter of King Henry the Seventh. She received the uncommon name of *Arbella*, or *Arbell:* these were the forms commonly used in her own day, and to which she herself always adhered; the ear of after-times has got accustomed to the modification *Arabella.* From the time when she lost her mother, she was brought up under the care of her grandmother the Countess of Shrewsbury, and she appears to have resided for the most part with her at Sheffield, Hardwick, or Chatsworth. Sometimes, however, we find her committed to the charge of the Countess's eldest son, Lord Talbot (afterwards seventh Earl of Shrewsbury), whose wife was an elder sister of the late Countess of Lennox, and the child's aunt. The Lady Arabella, like so many of the other highborn women of this and the preceding age, received a learned education. This has been denied or doubted; but abundant evidence of her scholarly accomplishments still exists in her own handwriting.

The death of her father had reduced his widow and child to a state of dependence; for all the Scotch estates of the family were immediately seized by King James, and all those in England by Queen Elizabeth. An attempt was made to assert Arabella's title to the

Earldom, which it was contended had been, as well as the lands attached to it, bestowed upon her father and the heirs of his body, whether male or female; but, whatever rights the child may have had, they were disregarded. In March 1580 James conferred the Earldom of Lennox by a new creation upon his favourite, Esme Lord Aubigny, who was a grandson of the late Earl's grandfather; in August of the following year the new Earl became Duke of Lennox; his son Ludovic, the second Duke, was afterwards, in addition, made by James Duke of Richmond in the English peerage; and these dignities subsisted till the death of Charles, sixth Duke of Lennox and fourth Duke of Richmond, in 1672. All that the widowed Countess of Lennox and her daughter had to subsist upon was an allowance of £400 a year for the mother, and half that sum for the child, granted by Elizabeth; and on the death of the Countess her portion of the pension appears to have been withdrawn. Yet the whole, as appears from a letter of Lady Shrewsbury to Burghley written immediately after her daughter's death, had been derived from the estates which had belonged to Arabella's father, or, as it is expressed, had been "assigned out of parcel of the land of her inheritance."*

When the old Countess of Lennox died, it was understood that Elizabeth had taken upon herself the care of her grand-daughter. So much is stated by Mary Stuart, in a letter written at the time to Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow.† And the Lady Arabella, besides being sometimes carried to Court by the Countess of Shrews-

* *Ellis, Second Series*, III. 64. † *Labanoff*, v. 31.

bury, who was not long in making up matters again with her Majesty after her daughter's marriage, was probably, as she grew older, sent for thither now and then without her grandmother. We have an interesting notice of one of her visits in a letter to the Countess from her son, Sir Charles Cavendish, which, from the mention made in it of the Earl of Leicester, must have been written before September 1588. "My Lady Arbell," says Sir Charles, "hath been once to Court. Her Majesty spoke twice to her, but not long, and examined her nothing touching her book. She dined in the presence; but my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] had her to supper; and at dinner, and dining with her and sitting over against him, he asked me whether I came with my niece. I said I came with her. Then he spoke openly, and directed his speech to Sir Walter Raleigh, greatly in her commendation, as that she had the French, the Italian, played of instruments, danced, and writ very fair; wished she were fifteen years old, and with that rounded Mr. (?) Raleigh in the ear, who answered it would be a happy thing. At supper he made exceeding much of her; so did he in the afternoon in his great chamber publicly; and of Mall and Bess, George and ——, he hath asked when she shall come again to Court." Afterwards Sir Charles observes that it is wonderful how my Lady Arbell "profiteth in her book," and that he believes "she will dance with exceeding good grace," and that she "can behave herself with great proportion to every one in their degree." *

* This letter is published from "A Series of Letters in MS. at Hardwick

Arabella may now have been about twelve years old. It would be about this time that Elizabeth pointed her out to Madame de Chasteauneuf, the wife of the French ambassador. "Look at her well," said her Majesty; "she will one day be attired all as I am (*toute faite comme moi*), and will be a great lady (*une maîtresse dame*). But I shall have gone before her (*j'aurai été devant elle*)." "She is a girl," she added, "of much talent, and speaks Latin, Italian, and French very well." But Elizabeth probably spoke in this way with a view merely to some purpose of the moment; there is no reason to suppose that she ever seriously designed having Arabella declared the heir to the throne,—although, if she had been obliged to quarrel with the King of Scots, there was certainly no other person whom, all circumstances considered, it would have been more natural for her to select for that position. The Lady Arabella had one advantage even over James, in that she was a native of England, and not only of English birth but of English parentage on both sides.

But, whatever thoughts may have passed through Elizabeth's mind in regard to her young kinswoman, there can be little doubt that Arabella's grandmother looked forward to the futurity of the young orphan with the most aspiring hopes. Mary Stuart affirms, in a letter written in 1584, that the Countess had then conceived the project of setting the crown on the head of her grand-daughter by marrying her to the son of

Hall," (it is not stated whether originals or copies), in Miss L. S. Costello's *Memoirs of Eminent Englishwomen*, Vol. I. 8vo, Lon. 1844; pp. 209, 210.

the Earl of Leicester.* Leicester's son, Robert Lord Denbigh, died at about three years of age in July of this same year.†

The history of the Lady Arabella for the rest of the reign of Elizabeth is principally made up of the enumeration of the various matches proposed for her, or of the speculations of the gossip of the day about the disposing of her in marriage. Mr. D'Israeli, in an interesting article in the *Second Series* of his *Curiosities of Literature*, which first directed much attention to her story in modern times, has noticed a scheme of King James to marry her to the new-made Duke of Lennox —another of the Pope to find a husband for her in the brother of the Duke of Parma, the Cardinal of Ferrara, who would have been for that purpose secularized, and might, it was hoped, have been in this way enabled to mount the English throne and to restore Romanism— and a third, which would seem to have been an idea of the lady's own, for a union with a son of the Earl of Northumberland. This must have been one of the sons of Henry the eighth Earl. De Thou expressly affirms that Arabella was secretly married to the Earl's son. But he is probably mistaken. Another account makes Arabella to have been sent by Elizabeth to the Tower upon the discovery of this affair. About, or shortly before, the year 1596 it appears that King James had got it in his head, or so at least it was asserted by certain persons who professed to be in his confidence, that the Queen of England had been attempting to persuade Henry the Fourth of France either to divorce

* *Labanoff*, v. 436. † See Vol. I. p. 112.

or put to death his wife, Margaret of Valois, and to marry the Lady Arabella, upon which she would take measures to get him declared her successor.* Soon after this we hear of a project of the Popish party for carrying her off to Spain: it was asserted that she herself was inclined to it, and that her common speech was that she thought no match in England good enough for her.† At the same time, it was said, the eldest daughter of the recently deceased Ferdinand Earl of Derby, the representative of the Lady Eleanor Brandon, was to have been stolen and conveyed away. That lady probably was a Roman Catholic; and it seems to have been calculated that the Lady Arabella, if she was not already of that faith, might easily be gained over. The projectors, it would appear, thought it would be enough if they could possess themselves of two of King James's rivals in the succession to the English crown, and did not patronize the pretensions of the son of Lady Catharine Grey. Finally, mention may be made of a tradition, probably quite as trustworthy as some of these rumours of the day, that, when the young Earl of Gowrie was at the English court, on his way home from the Continent, in the beginning of the year 1600, Elizabeth had some thoughts of getting up a match between him and the Lady Arabella,—who would be, however, four or five years older than the Earl.

One of the objects of the plot, or rather of one of the two plots, of which Lords Cobham and Grey, Raleigh, and others, were convicted immediately after the acces-

* *Birch*, I. 411. † *Id.* II. 307.

sion of James, was said to be the setting up of the Lady Arabella as Queen, and marrying her, under the sanction of King Philip of Spain, to the Duke of Savoy. It was admitted on all hands, however, that if any such design was entertained by the conspirators, she had no knowledge of it. She was present at the trials; and, as Carleton observes, in his account of those of the two Lords before the Lord High Steward, to his friend Chamberlain, "heard herself much spoken of these days." But, at the preceding trials of Raleigh and the other commoners, he adds, she had been "more particularly remembered;" when Raleigh spoke of her as "a woman with whom he had no acquaintance, and one whom, of all that he ever saw, he never liked;" and when Hale, the King's Sergeant, with a violent attempt at wit, described her as one that had no more right to the crown than himself,—"and, for any claim that he had, he utterly disavowed it." Cobham denied the charge altogether, in so far as she was affected by it; he only said she had sought his friendship, and his brother had sought hers. At Raleigh's trial, Cecil came forward and said, "For the Lady Arabella, lest any should scandalize so innocent a lady, I dare boldly say she was never privy to any of those things. A letter was once written to her, but she no way entertained it, but laughed at it, and presently acquainted the King therewith." Upon which the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, who was sitting beside her, rose, and added, "The lady doth here protest, upon her salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she wished me to tell the Court."*

* *Jardine*, I. 434.

The Lady Arabella was already established at Court, and the next six or seven years of her life passed away without any memorable incident. She lost her grandmother, the old Countess of Shrewsbury, in February 1608; but Arabella, who was by this time a woman of two or three-and-thirty, had probably long ceased to be regarded by her ambitious progenitor with the feelings which used to make her speak of her as her "jewel" and her most precious possession. There are traces of dissension between them in latter years, which never, perhaps, went much farther than a difference of opinion on some practical point, but which would yet show the Countess that her granddaughter was not without both the faculty and the will to think and act for herself, and was not disposed to be made either a mere appendage to the person of her venerable relative, however fondly cherished, or an instrument in her hands. She seems of late, naturally enough, to have allied herself more with her Aunt Mary, who, married, as already mentioned, to Gilbert Lord Talbot, had been Countess of Shrewsbury ever since 1590, in which year the old Earl died, and had inherited, if not all her mother's strength of character, rather more than her daring and inflexibility. Arabella herself did not want spirit; and, with her aunt to encourage her and urge her on, she was capable of taking a sufficiently decided course.

Before he had been six months on the throne King James had granted his cousin the Lady Arabella an allowance of eight hundred a year, besides a certain number of dishes of meat every day for her people from

the royal table.* For some years we find her in great favour, and one of the principal channels by which solicitations were made to the King. A notion of her position may be gathered from what one of his Court correspondents writes from Greenwich to the Earl of Shrewsbury in April 1605:†—"Mr. Candish (that is, William Cavendish, her mother's eldest surviving brother) is at London; comes to the Court, and waits hard on my Lady Arabella for his Barony; but I am confidently assured that he will not prevail, for I understand that my Lady Arabella is nothing forward in his business, although we be certainly informed that my Lady hath a promise of the King for one of her uncles to be a Baron; but it is not likely to be Mr. William, for he is very sparing in his gratuity, as I hear,—would be glad it were done, but would be sorry to part with anything for the doing of it. . . . His chief solicitor to my Lady Arabella is Sir William Bagot." But mere solicitation, this letter-writer is of opinion, would not do. "I was with Mr. Candish," he goes on, "at my Lady Arabella's chamber, and he entreated me to speak to my Lady Bedford to further him, and to solicit my Lady Arabella in his behalf, *but spoke nothing of anything that might move her to spend her breath for him;* so that, by the grace of God, he is likely to come good speed." He adds, nevertheless, that Mr. William Cavendish will be one of the new Barons to be made at the coming royal christening (it was that of a Princess, who died in infancy), "if my Lady Arabella have no more uncles;" and so in fact he was. He became Lord

* *Lodge*, III. 34. † *Id.* 157.

Cavendish, and was afterwards raised to the Earldom of Devonshire, which was made a Dukedom in the person of his great-grandson. Nor probably were the Lady Arabella's extraordinary resources limited to such windfalls or perquisites as she might obtain in this way. It is not quite certain that the grant was made; but in July 1608 it was proposed that a yearly tax of half-a-crown should be exacted from all the innkeepers and master ostlers in the kingdom, and that she should have the collecting of it by herself, or her deputies, and be paid by a fifth of its amount.* A notice of her in one of Chamberlain's letters to Carleton, written in January of this year, would imply that she indulged in great show and expense. Describing a Court masque which was about to take place, he mentions the abundant display of jewels that was expected, when one lady, and she under the rank of a baroness, was said "to be furnished for better than a hundred thousand pounds;" adding, "And the Lady Arabella goes beyond her; and the Queen must not come behind." Her profuse expenditure involved her in difficulties, and drove her to have recourse to some strange expedients. A few months after this (in October 1608) Chamberlain notices a report of a suit commenced in the Exchequer, or some other court, for the recovery of certain lands, on the astounding plea of the bastardy of Queen Elizabeth, one of the chief parties to which was said to be the Lady Arabella. "If there be any such thing," says Chamberlain with proper feeling, "methinks the whole State should prevent and resent

* *Lodge*, III. 236—238.

such an indignity." Her ladyship, we may be sure, made nothing of this desperate attempt.

Her favour at Court, however, suffered little or no interruption till towards the close of the year 1609. On the 13th of December Chamberlain writes to Carleton:—"I can learn no more of the Lady Arabella, but that she is committed to the Lord Knyvet, and was yesterday again before the Lords. Her gentleman-usher and her waiting-woman are close prisoners since her first restraint." On the 13th of February 1610, however, we have him reporting as follows to Sir Ralph Winwood, the Resident at the Hague:—"The Lady Arabella's business (whatsoever it was) is ended, and she restored to her former place and grace. The King gave her a cupboard of plate, better than £200, for a New Year's gift, and a thousand marks to pay her debts, besides some yearly addition to her maintenance; want being thought the chiefest cause of her discontentment, though she be not altogether free from suspicion of being collapsed." *

It is difficult to conjecture what can be here meant by *collapsed*, unless it be fallen off to Romanism. Lady Arabella seems to have been generally regarded as not very much to be depended upon in the matter of religion. Parsons, in the latter part of the reign of

* *Winwood*, III. 117.—The story has been somewhat confused by this letter being generally quoted as having been written in February 1609, and consequently before the one to Carleton. Mr. D'Israeli has strangely introduced it as referring to the year 1608.

Mr. D'Israeli refers to some papers of Sir Julius Cæsar in *Sloane MS.* 4160, as showing that a pension of £1600 had been granted to the Lady Arabella—he does not state in what year.

Elizabeth, had said:—"As for her religion, I know it not; but probably it can be no great motive either against her or for her, for that by all likelihood it may be supposed to be as tender, green, and flexible yet as is her age and sex, and to be wrought hereafter and settled according to future events and times." * And, although she professed to be a Protestant, the Catholic party seem never to have had any doubt of being able to bring her over if they could once get her into their hands.

It appears, however, that it was not any suspicion about her religion which brought her into trouble on the present occasion. Two days after the date of Chamberlain's letter to Winwood, Mr. John Beaulieu writes as follows to Mr. Trumbull, the Resident at Brussels:—"The Lady Arabella, who, as you know, was not long ago censured for having, without the King's privity, entertained a notion of marriage, was again within these few days deprehended in the like treaty with my Lord of Beauchamp's second son, and both were called and examined yesterday at the Court about it. What the matter will prove I know not; but these affectations of marriage in her do give some advantage to the world of impairing the reputation of her constant and virtuous disposition." †

It seems plain from this, that, in so far at least as Beaulieu understood the case—and he could hardly have been mistaken as to such a point—her ladyship had been detected within the three months in two distinct matrimonial negotiations with two different

* *Conference* (1594), Part II. p. 191. † *Winwood*, III. 119.

persons. The party whose proposals she had entertained in November or December was clearly not Lord Beauchamp's son, with whom she is now in treaty in February;—that is to say, always, if Beaulieu had not been misinformed.

The series of matches proposed or talked of for the Lady Arabella in the time of Elizabeth had received one or two additions in the beginning of the present reign. Mr. D'Israeli quotes a letter, preserved in the Sloane collection, from the Earl of Pembroke to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated from Hampton Court, the 3rd of October 1604, in which it is said: "A great ambassador is coming from the King of Poland, whose chief errand is to demand my Lady Arabella in marriage for his master." From what follows it may be gathered that people had been somewhat perplexed in regard to her ladyship's proper style, since she had come to be so much more nearly related to the actual wearer of the crown than formerly. "So may your princess of the blood," adds Pembroke, "grow a great queen, and then we shall be safe from the danger of mis-superscribing letters." On the same day, it is curious, William Fowler, the fantastic Secretary to Queen Anne, writes to Shrewsbury, also from Hampton, as follows:—"My Lady Arabella spends her time in lecture, reading, hearing of service and preaching, and visiting all the princesses. She will not hear of marriage. Indirectly, there were speeches used in the recommendation of Count Maurice, who pretendeth to be Duke of Gueldres." Fowler adds, "I dare not attempt her;" but, though this absurd personage was in the habit of pro-

fessing a boundless admiration for her, one would hesitate to infer with Mr. Lodge, from a few such expressions as he here employs, that he ever dreamt of urging any pretensions of his own to the hand of the high-born lady.

The Lady Arabella is mentioned in connexión with the son of Lord Beauchamp before this, and while Elizabeth still lived. It appears that in the beginning of the year 1603 she had herself written to Lord Beauchamp's father, the Earl of Hertford, offering to marry his grandson.* But the old Earl had not forgotten his own unfortunate attempt to achieve a royal alliance, and we may be pretty sure lost little time in deliberating upon the proposition of another such perilous honour for a member of his house.

This is the same Earl of Hertford with whom the reader has made acquaintance in the tragical story of the Lady Catharine Grey. It is more than forty years since he involved himself in that adventure; all the long reign of Elizabeth has since elapsed; he was then a youth of two or three-and-twenty; he is now an old man of sixty-five. His eldest son Edward, who, notwithstanding the unrepealed judgment against the marriage of his father and mother, had always been known as Lord Beauchamp, had in 1585 married privately Honora, daughter of Sir Richard Rogers, knight. "This," says Strype, "gave so high a disgust to the Earl his father, as a match inferior, that he kept him from his wife and his wife from him." † And the Queen and the Council, it is added, were also displeased

* *Birch*, II. 506.

† *Ann. Ref.*, Vol. III. Part I. p. 507.

that he should have presumed to marry at all "without her and their consent, he being of royal blood by his mother." Shortly after the discovery of what he had done he was seized one day by order of his father in the neighbourhood of Reading; and Strype prints a letter, dated the 9th of August, which he addressed to the government, soliciting its interference to liberate him from the hands of the Earl. He would be at this time in his twenty-fourth year. Hertford seems to have thought that, having been himself laid by the heels for marrying too high, it was at least quite as reasonable that his son should be punished in the same manner for marrying too low. However, all parties were soon reconciled. When Hertford's mother, the Duchess of Somerset, makes her Will in July of the following year, a few months before her death, she not only affectionately remembers her grandson,—or her *son* as she fondly calls him,—but leaves "a book of gold, kept in a green purse, and a pair of bracelets without stones," to her son Beauchamp's wife.* Lord Beauchamp had two sons. It was perhaps Edward, the eldest, that the Lady Arabella offered to marry in 1603. At that date she would be seven or eight-and-twenty, and he could hardly be yet seventeen.

But it was William Seymour, Lord Beauchamp's second son, as we have seen, with whom she was discovered to be in treaty in February 1610. His age could not be more than two or three-and-twenty at the most, while she would by this time be four or five-and-thirty. Upon being brought up before the council

* *Strype, Ann. Ref.*, Vol. III. Part I. p. 653.

they both declared not only that they were not married, but that they had never intended marrying without his Majesty's consent. Mr. D'Israeli gives part of a written communication which Seymour addressed to the Lords of the Council, detailing everything that had taken place between them. He says that, upon its being generally reported, after her ladyship's last being called before their lordships, that she might, without offence, make her choice of any subject within the kingdom, he, being a younger brother, alive to his own interest, of moderate estate, and so having his fortunes to raise by his own exertions,—while she was a lady of great honour and virtue, and, as he thought, also of great means,—conceived the plan of honestly endeavouring to gain her for his wife, and with that view had boldly intruded himself into her apartment in the Court on last Candlemas-day, and imparted to her his said desire, to which she had readily assented. This is certainly all prosaic enough. They had only had two other meetings in all; the first at one Brigg's house in Fleet Street, the second at a Mr. Baynton's.

Upon giving these explanations and assurances, they were both set at large. That followed which might naturally have been expected. The two lovers took the first opportunity of getting married; the ceremony was privately performed in Lady Arabella's chamber in the palace at Greenwich. The fact was discovered in the early part of July. It is mentioned, in a letter of Carleton's to Sir Thomas Edmondes dated the 13th of that month, in terms by no means complimentary to the lady. She was immediately

ordered into close custody at Sir Thomas Parry's house at Lambeth; her husband was sent to the Tower, where the learned and intrepid Presbyterian divine, Andrew Melvil, recently shut up for an irreverent expression he had dropped touching the altar in the Royal Chapel, welcomed the new comer with the well-known epigram, which would alone have sufficed to fix the accepted form of the lady's name :—

"Causa mihi tecum communis carceris; Ara
Regia bella tibi, regia sacra mihi."*

Thus matters remained for eight or nine months;

* Robert Johnstone's account is curious :—"Per eosdem dies Arbella Stuarta, regii generis claritudine ac pudicitiâ insignis, muliebri indignatione miserias suas graviter invidioseque deplorabat, et cœlibi vitæ intonabat, orabatque dare conjugem dignaretur ad matrimonii solatium. Unde orta miseratio Regi, ob communem familiam; nam Arbella ex Carolo patruo erat, et post regiam sobolem regni hæres. Qui ad querelas sedandas, et ad ejus dolorem leniendum, ne longius efferetur, pro conditione sustinuit ac fovit. Certam pecuniam quotannis numerare constituit. Adhibitis principibus viris, statuit maritum diligi oportere pro nobilitate et claritudine sanguinis. Neque tamen repertus est procerum quisquam talis matrimonii cupidus, ob metum periculi. Illa, sui matrimonii incerta, reconditâ indignatione, nuptias Gulielmi Seymori, nepotis Hertfordiæ Comitis, concupivit; qui ex Catarinâ Graiâ, infaustâ stirpe Suffolcienci, genitus erat. Hæ nuptiæ sine pernicie publicâ perpetrari vix poterant. Mox juvenis, illecebris ejus pellectus in amorem, cupiditate potentiæ, officium nuptiarum clam celebravit. Pactum inter Arbellam et Seymorum matrimonium, et licentiâ conjugali consummatum, in Civitate vulgi sermone percrebuit; præbuitque Rex aures rumori, et, comperto matrimonio, imminenti periculo obviam ivit. Seymorum accersi statim, ac in Arcem Londinensem, decreto Senatûs, duci jussit. Idem fit Arbellæ, ad avertendum periculum. Quæ, in carcerem conjecta, non abnuere suas nuptias, et legitimos liberos procreandi desiderium; preces miscere ut daret veniam conjugii, redderet [que] maritum dignum suo matrimonio; ac muliebris impotentiæ voces propalam edere. Sed Rex, non ignarus quantum ex his n[illegible] Reipublicæ damnum immineret, post multas et supplices preces, mœrentem in carcere reliquit; nec gravius puniit."—*Hist. Rer. Britann.* 458 (*sub A. D.* 1609).

but, although prevented from meeting, the husband and wife found means to hold some intercourse by writing. Mr. D'Israeli has given one of the Lady Arabella's letters from the original, preserved in the Harleian collection. It was probably upon their correspondence being discovered that it was determined to separate them by a greater distance. It was ordered that the lady should be transferred to the keeping of the Bishop of Durham, and carried away by him to his remote diocese. But, on her way thither, she was taken so ill at Highgate, that a physician, who was called in, considered it unsafe to proceed farther; and his Majesty's permission was obtained for her to rest there, in the house of a Mr. Conyers, for the space of a month, which was afterwards extended to two months on her own petition.

In this interval she gradually recovered her strength, and, as the appointed time drew near, she completely lulled into security her keepers and attendants, except the two or three who were in her secret, by the show she put on of being now quite ready and willing to continue her journey. The day on which she was to set out was Tuesday, the 4th of June (1611). She made her escape on the Monday afternoon. Having disguised herself, as she is described in a minute account of the affair transmitted by a news-collector of the day to Winwood, "by drawing a pair of great French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a manlike peruque, with long locks, over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side," she walked out of the

house between three and four o'clock, in company with a Mr. Markham. Walking on together for about a mile and a half, they reached a small inn, where another confidential servant, Crompton, waited with horses. By this time she was so sick and faint, that the ostler who held the stirrup, as she mounted, remarked that that gentleman would hardly hold out to London. "Yet," continues Winwood's correspondent, "being set on a good gelding, astride, in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face, and so she rid on towards Blackwall." Everything had been perfectly concerted with Seymour; and accordingly, when Lady Arabella and her companion got to the river side, about six o'clock on that summer evening, they found a boat ready to take them on board, and another filled with her own and her husband's luggage, together with a gentlewoman and a maid-servant. They first put across to the Woolwich side; thence they were rowed to Gravesend; from that the watermen were, with some difficulty, being very tired, prevailed upon to go on in the dark to Lee, which they reached by the time there was as much light as to show them the French bark that had been engaged to carry the two fugitives lying at anchor about a mile ahead. They soon pulled that additional distance, and got on board; and now Lady Arabella wished to wait where she was till her husband should join her, but those who were with her would not consent, and so they hoisted sail and put out to sea.

Meanwhile Seymour had also without any difficulty effected his escape from the Tower. Having dressed

himself in a suit of tawny cloth, and put on a beard and peruque of black hair, he quietly stepped down from his lodging, and walked out by the great west door, following a cart that had brought him some firewood. He then proceeded along Tower Wharf, passing the warders at the South Gate, till he came to the Iron Gate, where one Edward Rodney (a near relation, who had also been present at his marriage) waited for him with a pair of oars. They did not, however, reach Lee till after the French ship, with Lady Arabella and her attendants on board, had weighed anchor and was gone; but seeing another under sail at some distance, which they thought might be it, and the sea beginning to run high, they hired a fisherman for twenty shillings to take them on board. On finding their mistake, they made forward to another ship, which proved to be a Newcastle collier. This with much difficulty Seymour hired for forty pounds to carry him across to the opposite coast. It landed him at Ostend.

It was not till the afternoon of Tuesday that the Government was advertised even of the escape of Lady Arabella. It appears that the person in immediate attendance upon her, "a minister's wife," although she saw her mistress disguise herself and slip away, thought she only intended to make a private visit to her husband before her removal to the North, and with much simplicity fully believed she would return to Highgate the next morning. The first thing the Lord Treasurer did when he heard of what had happened was—not, it may be thought, without some simplicity too—to send to the Lieutenant of the Tower to set strait guard over

Seymour; "that" the Lieutenant, "in his yare (or eager) manner" replied "he would throughly do, that he would;" but, proceeding to his prisoner's apartment, he found, to his great amazement, that he had been gone a whole day. It seems that Seymour had directed his servant, one Tom Barber, to say to any one who came to inquire for him that he was suffering from toothache, and wished not to be disturbed; and so firmly was Tom convinced that all was right, that after the matter was discovered he seriously endeavoured to persuade Mr. Lieutenant that his master was only gone to pass the night with his wife, and would certainly come back shortly of his own accord.

The King and the Lords, however, were in terrible perturbation, and something must be done. So my Lord Treasurer dispatches orders to a pinnace lying at the Downs instantly to put to sea, and, crossing over first to Calais Road, thence to scour up the coast towards Dunkirk. This pinnace was not long in spying the French barque in which Lady Arabella was, and which had again dropped anchor, and was waiting in expectation of Seymour making his appearance. On the English vessel approaching, she tried to fly towards Calais, and she stood thirteen shot from the pinnace before she would strike. When poor Lady Arabella found herself again a prisoner, she bravely declared she was not so sorry for her own recapture as she should be glad if she were assured of the escape of her husband. She was forthwith carried to the Tower.

A proclamation had also been issued strictly charging and commanding all persons upon their allegiance and

duty to forbear at their peril from harbouring or assisting the fugitives; and passionate letters were dispatched in haste to the King and Queen Regent of France, and also to the Government of the Netherlands, describing their offence in the blackest colours, and earnestly requesting that they should be sent back without delay.*

Writing again on Tuesday the 18th, Winwood's correspondent states that on the Saturday preceding the Countess of Shrewsbury had also been sent to the Tower. It was generally believed that in the whole business, including her marriage as well as her flight, her niece had acted on her advice and instigation. They had both been called before the Council, when Lady Arabella, according to this letter-writer, had answered with good judgment and discretion; "but the other," he adds, "is said to be utterly without reason, crying out that all is but tricks and gigs,— that she will answer nothing in private, and, if she have offended the law, she will answer it in public." She was reported "to have amassed a great sum of money to some ill use;" twenty thousand pounds in cash, besides "more bills of exchange to her niece's use than she (her niece) had knowledge of." "And, though the Lady Arabella," the letter goes on, "hath not as yet been found inclinable to Popery, yet her aunt made account belike that, being beyond the seas in the hands of Jesuits and Priests, either the stroke of their arguments or the pinch of poverty might force her to the other side." From this it would appear as

* *Winwood*, III. 279, 280.

if Lady Shrewsbury were herself a Roman Catholic. The writer, a person of good sense, adds:—"Our Scots and English differ much in opinion upon this point. These (the English) do hold, that, if this couple should have escaped, the danger was not like to have been very great, in regard that their pretensions are so many degrees removed, and they ungraceful both in their persons and their houses; so as a hot alarm taken at the matter will make them more illustrious in the world's eye than now they are, or, being let alone, ever would have been. But the others (the Scots) aggravate the offence in so strange a manner, as that it might be compared to the Powder Treason; and so it is said to fill his Majesty with fearful imaginations, and, with him, the Prince, who cannot easily be removed from any settled opinion."* Before this, Prince Henry used to be one of Lady Arabella's principal friends at Court.

The expression here used about Lady Arabella and Seymour being "*ungraceful* both in their persons and houses" has occasioned some controversy. I should apprehend that what the writer means to say is, that both they themselves and the families to which they belonged were thought to have little religion, or divine grace.

The unhappy lady never more crossed the threshold of her prison. And her aunt also was detained in confinement for several years. On the 28th of January 1612 Chamberlain writes to Carleton:—"The Lady of Shrewsbury, that hath been long in the Tower, and had the liberty of the place, and sometimes leave to

* *Winwood*, III. 281.

attend her lord in his sickness, is now of late constrained and kept more close upon somewhat discovered against her, they say, by her niece, the Lady Arabella." On the 12th of February he writes;—"The Lady of Shrewsbury is still in the Tower, rather upon wilfulness than upon any great matter she is charged withal; only the King is resolute that she shall answer to certain interrogatories, and she as obstinate to make none [no answers], nor to be examined." Under date of the 2nd of July he reports that the Countess had again been called before the Council and Judges on the preceding Tuesday at the Lord Chancellor's, when, although the heinousness of her conduct was strongly pointed out to her, she would still say nothing except that she stood upon the privilege of her person and nobility, and upon a vow she had taken and could not violate. On the 10th of March 1613 he writes to Winwood:—"The Lady Arabella hath been dangerously sick of convulsions, and is now said to be distracted; which, if it be so, comes well to pass for somebody, whom they say she hath nearly touched." He alludes to the revelations she was reported to have made about her aunt.

The next mention of the two ladies in Chamberlain's letters is in one to Winwood dated the 6th of May, in which we read the following passage, notable also for other curious matter that it contains:—"The Prince Palatine, before his going, made a suit to the King for the enlargement of the Lord Grey. The King told him he marvelled how he should become suitor for a man whom he neither knew nor ever saw. He

answered, that he was recommended to him by his uncles, the Duke of Bouillon, the Prince Maurice, and the Count Henry, who had better knowledge of him. Then the King said: 'Son, when I come into Germany I will promise you not to importune you for any of your prisoners.' Since that time the Lord Grey hath been restrained and kept more strait for having had conference with one of the Lady Arabella's women; who, being strictly examined, was fain to confess that it was only matter of love and dalliance. The Lady Arabella is likewise restrained of late, though they say her brain continues still crackt; and the Countess of Shrewsbury more close than at any time before, and not without cause, as the voice goes."*

At last, after having been seriously ill for more than a year, the Lady Arabella was in the commencement of the sixth year of her imprisonment released from her sufferings by death. She expired in the Tower on the 27th of September 1615. It was immediately after the discovery had been made of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, more than two years before; and, not unnaturally, in the excited state of the public mind, a rumour rose and spread that poison, administered in this case it was hard to say by whom, had done its work on another victim. But no such aid of art was here needed to destroy a life which disease both bodily and mental had completely undermined. The physicians who examined the body by order of the Secretary of State reported that the cause of death was a cachexy, or bad habit of body, which daily increasing,

* *Winwood*, III. 454.

partly by her own neglect, partly by her aversion to medicine, had at length produced extreme emaciation and confirmed disease of the liver, from which recovery was impossible. Her age cannot have been above thirty-nine or forty.

Soon after the death of the Lady Arabella the Countess of Shrewsbury was set at large. Robert Johnstone, in his Latin History, makes a remarkable statement. He says that it was Lady Shrewsbury, who, in revenge for the keen part that the Earls of Suffolk and Northampton had taken against her in the business of her niece at the council board (*in Senatu*), first set on foot the inquiry into the murder of Overbury by the Countess of Somerset, which in its result shook to its foundation and all but threw to the ground the house of Howard.*

All this while the old Earl of Hertford still lived. Nor had he yet lived out all that was to be singular or remarkable in his destiny. He had, with wonderful patience, allowed the question of his marriage with Lady Catharine Grey, and consequently that of the legitimacy of his two sons, to sleep throughout all the reign of Elizabeth; but soon after the accession of James he began to bestir himself in the renewal of his appeal against the sentence of the Commission of Inquiry, which had now stood undisturbed and unchallenged for more than forty years. On his petition to the King a new Commission was appointed to examine the matter in the year 1604. But no decision appears to have

* *Historia Rer. Brit.* 470.

been pronounced. Mr. Hallam infers from an imperfect record of the proceedings, preserved in one of the Cotton volumes, that objections founded on the lapse of time and other technical difficulties were raised, which served as a pretext for coming to no determination on the merits.* In the beginning of the year 1606 another attempt appears to have been made by Lord Beauchamp to bring forward indirectly the question of his mother's marriage and his own legitimacy in a suit for some lands which he brought against Lord Monteagle, and which was heard before a jury in the Court of Wards. A contemporary letter-writer states that "the jury had a week's respite for the delivery of their verdict;" but in a subsequent letter he says, "When the verdict was ready to be given up, Mr. Attorney interposed himself for the King, and said that the land that they both strove for was the King's, and, until his title were decided, the jury ought not to proceed; not doubting but the King will be gracious to both Lords. But thereby both land and legitimation remain undecided."† Mr. Hallam suggests, what seems highly probable, that it may have been a confused account of this trial in the Court of Wards that had reached Dugdale, who states that he had been informed by persons of great credit, "that the validity of the marriage was afterwards brought to a trial at the common law; when, the minister who married them being present, and other circumstances agreeing, the jury (whereof John Digby of Coleshill, in Com. War., Esquire, was the foreman) found it a good marriage." ‡ It may perhaps be inferred from this that the jury were

* *Const. Hist.*, I., 287. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Baronage*, II. 369.

known or believed to have been prepared to return a verdict in favour of the marriage. Dugdale's expressions read very much as if his information had come originally from the foreman. On the failure, at any rate, of the last-mentioned attempt to establish his legitimacy, Lord Beauchamp in 1608, as Dugdale states, took out letters patent granting to him and to the heirs male of his body the enjoyment of the title of Earl of Hertford, and also the right of sitting and voting in parliament, after the death of the present Earl of Hertford, who, however, was not styled his father. It must be to this compromise, which was no doubt entered into with the concurrence of the Earl, and which was so little creditable to either the father or the son, that Camden alludes when he says that Hertford had lately publicly and freely retracted, or withdrawn, his appeal against the Archbishop's sentence.* Thus at last was the honourable fame of poor Lady Catharine Grey abandoned and thrown to the winds by the two individuals who were of all others most bound to maintain it both for her sake and for their own.

The old Earl was thrown into almost as much agitation and alarm as King James himself by the flight of his grandson and the Lady Arabella in June 1611. He was then resident at his seat in the country; and Mr. D'Israeli has noticed the fact of a letter communicating an account of the affair from his other grandson Francis Seymour, (a younger brother of William), which had arrived at a late hour of the night, still

* *Elizabeth*, 389.

exhibiting (for it is preserved in the Harleian collection) a remarkable evidence of his trepidation and consternation in the injury it has received by having caught the flame of a candle which he probably held in his hand while he read it. The letter, however, was not accompanied by any summons to attend the Privy Council; if there was ever any such summons it came afterwards; and Mr. D'Israeli is also mistaken in supposing that the Earl "must have burnt what he probably had not read," and that he consequently "journeyed to town in a state of uncertainty and confusion." The portion of the letter destroyed by the candle consisted only of an unimportant word or two, and he himself states what they were in transmitting it the next morning to his "very good Lord the Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England." The frightened old man's letter to Salisbury is curiously expressive both of his state of mind at the moment and of the sort of character he had now become, whatever he had been half a century before. It runs as follows: —"My Lord, this last night, at eleventh of the clock, ready to go to bed, I received this letter from my nephew, Francis Seymour, which I send your lordship here-inclosed; a letter no less troublesome to me than strange to think I should in those my last days be grandfather of a child that, instead of patience and tarrying the Lord's leisure (lessons that I learned and prayed for when I was in the same place whereout lewdly he is now escaped), would not tarry for the good hour of favour to come from a gracious and merciful King, as I did, and enjoyed in the end (though long

first) from a most worthy and noble Queen, but hath plunged himself further into his Highness' just displeasure. To whose Majesty I do, by these lines, earnestly pray your lordship to signify most humbly from me how distasteful this his foolish and boyish action is unto me, and that, as at first upon his examination before your Lordships, and his Majesty afterward, nothing was more offensive unto me, misliking altogether the unfitness and inequality of the match, and the handling of it afterward worse, so do I condemn this as worst of all in them both. Thus, my Lord, with an unquiet mind to think (as before) I should be grandfather to any child that hath so much forgotten his duty as he hath now done, and having slept never a wink this night (a bad medicine for one that is not fully recovered of a second great cold I took), I leave your Lordship with my loving commendations to the heavenly protection. From Letley, this Thursday morning, at four of the clock, the 6th of June, 1611. Your Lordship's most assured loving friend, HERTFORD.—*Postsc.* As I was reading my said nephew's letter my sise [?] took (as your lordship may perceive) into the bottom of the letter; but the word missing that is burnt is *Tower to acquaint.*" *

Hertford had before this been married not only to a second but to a third wife. The former was that Frances Howard, third daughter of William first Lord Howard of Effingham, the younger sister of Douglas

* *Harl. MS.*, 7003.—Francis Seymour's letter is dated the 4th of June, from Hertford House, Cannon Row.

Lady Sheffield, Leicester's friend, who has been incidentally introduced to the reader in our former volume.* She died, at the age of forty-four, on the 14th of May 1598. The Earl, who was by this time past sixty, did not long remain a widower. His next wife was another Frances Howard, the daughter of Thomas Viscount Bindon. This lady was a remarkable character. She was of very high extraction; for her father, a younger brother of the poetical Earl of Surrey, was the son of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife, the Lady Elizabeth Stafford, daughter of Edward third Duke of Buckingham. Yet, as Wilson, the historian of the reign of James the First, who has given the fullest account of her, observes, although "one of the greatest, both for birth and beauty, in her time, at first she went a step backwards, as it were to fetch a career, to make her mount the higher." Her first husband was a citizen of London, one Henry Pranel, vintner. The vintner, however, was very rich, and when he died, in December 1599, his widow, still young and beautiful, as well as childless, amply dowered, far descended, and reputed a woman of wit and talent to boot, was looked upon as the greatest prize that had for a long while appeared in the matrimonial lottery. "It is said," Rowland White writes to Sir Robert Sidney on the 16th of January 1600, "that Sir William Woodhouse would fain marry the rich widow Pranel, richly left indeed." † Her most ardent suitor, however, was Sir George Rodney, a gentleman of the west country. He, according to Wilson, who describes him as "suitable to her for person and

* See Vol. I. p. 71.

† *Sidney Papers*, II. 160.

fortune," had good reason to think his love returned; "but," continues the historian, "Edward Earl of Hertford being entangled with her fair eyes, and she having a tang of her grandfather's ambition, left Rodney and married the Earl." Upon this, we are told, "Rodney, having drunk in too much affection, and not being able with his reason to digest it, summoned up his sickened spirits to a most desperate attempt; and, coming to Amesbury in Wiltshire, where the Earl and his lady were then resident, to act it, he retired to an inn in the town, shut himself up in a chamber, and wrote a large paper of well-composed verses to the Countess in his own blood (strange kind of composedness!), wherein he bewails and laments his own unhappiness; and, when he had sent them to her, as a sad catastrophe to all his miseries, he ran himself upon his sword, and so ended that life which he thought death to enjoy." A poem, said to be that written by Sir George (though not professing to be the original *rubric*) is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and has been printed.* As for the Countess, "she easily," Wilson adds, "passed this over, and so wrought upon the good-nature of the Earl her husband that he settled above five thousand pounds a year jointure upon her for life." She much amused the world by various fantastic eccentricities, the produce of a strange mixture of frivolity, vanity, and wild wit, if not of something still more nearly akin to insanity. It is related that she was fond of talking of her grandfather the Duke of Norfolk, and her great-grandfather the Duke of Buckingham, but

* See it in Sir E. Brydges's *Topographer*, I. 398, &c.

that when she was running on in this strain she always stopped when the Earl made his appearance; for he would check her, and bring her down at once from her airy flight, by asking her how long it was since she was married to Pranel. However, after seeing an end of Hertford, she made a still higher alliance, taking for a third husband, and becoming the third wife of, Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, the same who had married for his first wife the sister of the last Earl of Gowrie. Wilson says that she was courted by Lennox in the lifetime of Hertford, and that he then "presented many a fair offering to her as an humble suppliant, sometimes in a blue coat with a basket-hilt sword, making his addresses in such odd disguises:" "yet," he adds, "she carried a fair fame during the Earl's time." Hertford died, at the age of eighty-three, on the 5th of April 1621; and his widow became Duchess of Richmond on the 16th of June. But Richmond was suddenly carried off, in his forty-ninth year, in February 1624. He left no surviving issue by any of his three wives, nor she by any of her three husbands. She now, Wilson tells us, gave out that, after having been the wife of so great a prince, she would "never be blown upon with the kisses, nor eat at the table of a subject,"—expecting that she might next catch King James; and, although disappointed in that ambition, she pertinaciously observed, we are assured, at least one portion of her vow; "for, being much visited by all the great ones, she had her formality of officers and gentlemen that gave attendance, and this advantage, that none ever ate with her; yet all the

tables in the hall were spread as if there had been meat and men to furnish them; but, before eating-time, the house being voided, the linen returned into their folds again, and all her people grazed on some few dishes." * The eccentric or half-mad Duchess survived till October 1639, as appears from the inscription upon her monument in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where her effigy and that of her last husband, cast in brass, lie side by side on a marble table, under a brazen canopy, supported by the figures of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Prudence; while overhead stands Fame on tiptoe, as ready to mount into the air and proclaim to the universe the nobility of the dust that moulders underneath.

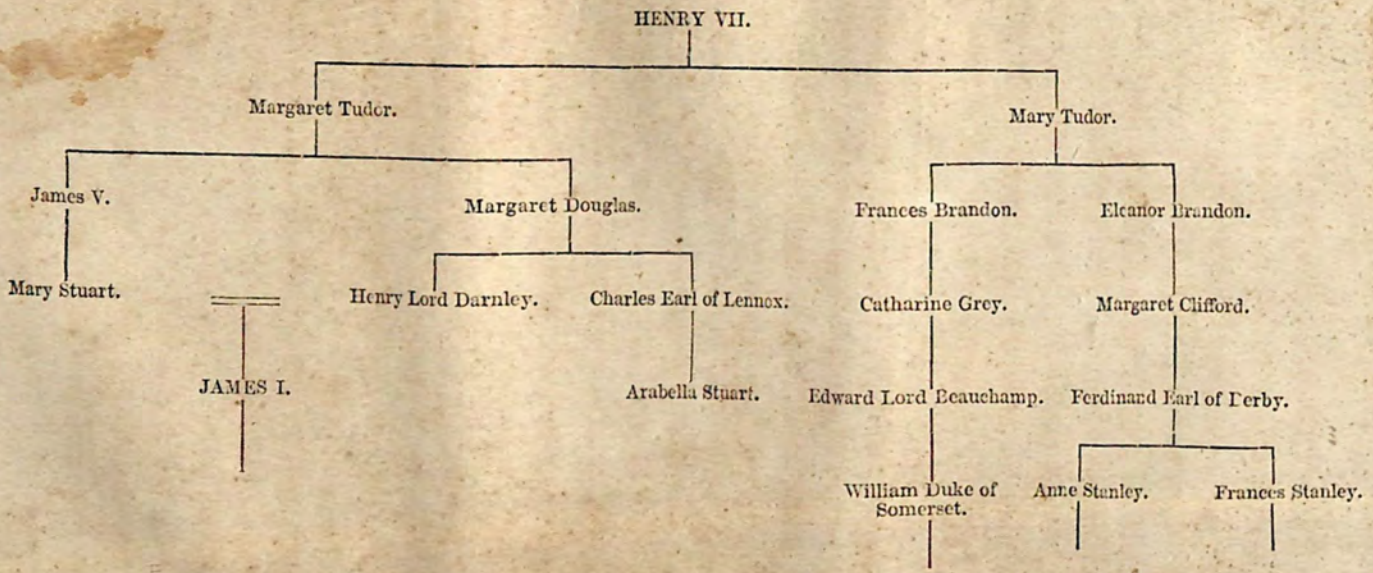
The Lady Arabella's husband, Mr. William Seymour, returned to England soon after the decease of his unfortunate wife. He was created a Knight of the Bath in November 1616. Before the Earl his grandfather closed his protracted life, he had become the heir to the title and peerage conferred by the singular patent grant of 1608. Death had removed his father in July 1612. "The Lord Beauchamp," Chamberlain writes to Carleton on the 18th of that month, "died the last week, at his house near Staines. The Earl of Hertford, his father, takes his death more grievously than was expected." And in the lifetime of that father died also his son's eldest son, Edward, and that Edward's only son, another Edward. So that when the old man descended to the grave at last, in 1621, his son's second son, Sir William Seymour, who would be then known

* *Kennet*, II. 777, 778.

as Lord Beauchamp, became Earl of Hertford. He makes a great figure in the political and military history of the reign of Charles the First, to whom he adhered steadily throughout the civil war, and by whom he was advanced to the degree of Marquis of Hertford in 1640, and at the same time appointed Governor to the Prince of Wales. His character and actions may be read in Clarendon. He had the happiness of living to see the revolution of the great year 1660, which proved the re-establishment of his own noble house as well as that of the monarchy; for he was immediately restored to the Dukedom of Somerset by a special Act of Parliament, which expressly recognised him as the heir of his great-grandfather the first Duke, and must therefore be held to have at last affirmed and legalised the marriage of his grandfather with the Lady Catharine Grey. He died the same year on the 24th of October. By a second wife, Frances Devereux, the elder of the two daughters of Robert second Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's unfortunate favourite, and sister and coheir of the third Earl, the Parliamentary General, he had a large family, five sons and four daughters,—notwithstanding which, however, the Dukedom passed from his line in less than fifteen years. It is interesting to find that to his eldest daughter (who died unmarried) he had given the unforgotten name of ARABELLA.

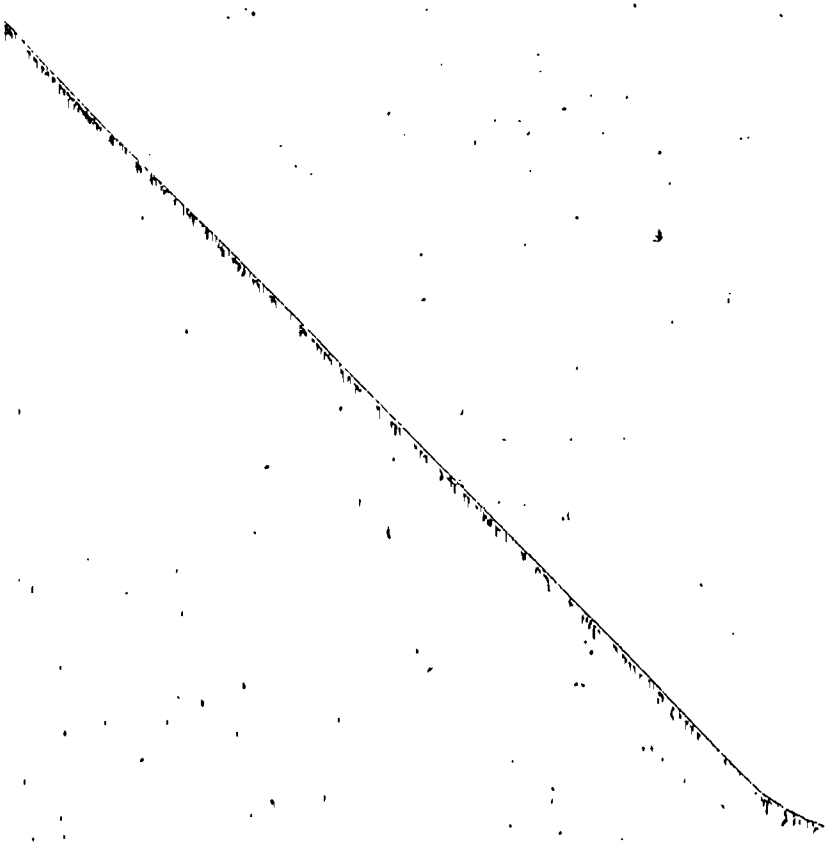
THE END.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



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